A Treatise on the Bodos

Shri Bakul Chandra Basumatary

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By

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This book is dedicated to Jagadish Chandra Brahma, Ex-Principal, Kokrajhar College, Kokrajhar, Assam who is no more with us.

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Preface

The purpose of writing this book is to cater to the needs of redesigning the road map for writing a true and authentic ancient history of Assam, Bengal and Bangladesh. While writing the ancient history of Assam, Bengal and Bangladesh, it appears, fanciful and mythological stories are given preference to the facts and as such, the ancient history of these regions with reference to the people representing the mass autochthonous has been distorted beyond recognition. I have made serious efforts to salvage the lost glories of the ancient indigenous people living in these regions. I am of the firm opinion that there is a strong need in rewriting the ancient history of Assam, Bengal and Bangladesh. I have therefore, collected material records that are impeccable and placed them in this book along with logical analysis highlighting therein the irresistible conclusions.

In its ultimate objective, this book will be in tandem with my books, 'Bodo Civilization in India' and 'Boro Rao Arw Pali, Prakrit, Sanskritjwng Beni Swmwndw'. Those two with this compilation, according to me, will be able to give an exhaustively clear picture of the Bodos and their lost ancient glory. Besides, these three books will help provide insight to rethink in terms of writing a comprehensive and new ancient history of Assam, Bengal and Bangladesh.

This book covers aspects relating to the evolution of the Bodos in respect of their faith, culture, language and social traditions. The treaties whereby the kings of the Bodo dynasties had at last, surrendered their sovereignty to the British Government have also been reproduced in this book for information of all concerned. All the writers of fame and repute may like to review the ancient history of these regions on the basis of the data put forward in this book. The readers may like to compare the facts brought out in this book with those of the history books already in circulation and thereafter, I am sure, they would appreciate the undesired treatments meted out to these regions and the authoctonous people, the Bodos in particular. I repeat that on reading these three books it would seem irresistible that there is a strong need to correct the incoherent, biased and unsubstanciated pictures painted in our history books in respect of the ancient history of Assam, Bengal and Bangladesh.

As the book is now on the stand, I request all our esteemed readers to read the book at least for once. Thanking all in anticipation,

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Pragjyotishpur: Its Roots are in the Bodo Prakrits

As stated in the Mahabharata, the Puranas and the Upa-Puranas, during the pre-Christian era, the region comprising of the modern Assam, Tripura, Bengal and Bangladesh was known as Pragjyotishpura of King Bhagadatta of the Bhauma dynasty founded by Narakasura, the son of Lord Vishnu. D. C. Sircar is of the opinion, "The early kingdom of Pragjyotisa comprised major parts of modern Assam together with the Jalpaiguri, Cochbehar, Rangpur, Bogra, Mymensingh, Dacca and Tippera Districts and parts of the Pabna District in Bengal and probably also the eastern areas of Nepal." (Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, P.160) Scholars and historians are however, not unanimous as regards the reason why this region was called Pragjyotishpura. According to Upa-Puranas and the Puranas, the region was famous for astrology, i.e., Jyotish Shastra and since it was the eastern frontier of India, it was called Prag + Jyotish + Pur = Pragjyotishpura. Thus the historians who support and believe in the statements made in the Puranas including the Upa-Puranas hasten to say that the term Pragjyotishpura is the derivative of the said three Sanskrit words. While propounding the theory of the Sanskrit origin of Pragjyotishpura, they tend to suggest that Pragjyotishpura might have been the abode of the Sanskrit speaking people. The theory of the Sanskrit origin of the term 'Pragjyotishpura', according to us, is full of flaws and it cannot be accepted for reasons amongst others, as discussed below.

The name of a place generally goes with the name and nomenclature of the people living in the area. Therefore, almost all the countries of the modern world are known and called after the names of the people predominantly living in those countries. Following this principle, one may have to first make a sincere attempt to unearth the true identification of the people that were living in the kingdom, known and called as Pragjyotishpura, before and/or during the era when the Mahabharata, the Puranas and the Upa-Puranas were written. One would invariable find in the great Epic that the Kiratas and the Cinas are stated to be the inhabitants of the kingdom. Admittedly, the Kiratas and the Cinas are of Mongoloid origin and the modern Bodos of India are their progenies. They spread from the Indus River in the West to the Dihing, Disang and Dibong in the East and even far beyond. However, the names of their clans, groups and sub-groups differ from each other at different times and in different regions. This has been testified by Thomas William Rhys David as well, which fact is discussed later in this writing. None the less, Indian historians including Dr. S. K. Chatterjee have classified the Bodos as the people of Kirata origin and as such no further discussion on the Kiratas is required to be made in this writing. The Kalika Upa-Purana declares this region as the abode of the Mlecchas, the followers of the Lord Shiva, who lived with practices of their own faith and modes of worship that were at variance with the practices of the people of the Western India. 'Shi' or 'Si' and 'Bwrai' are two Bodo *'Tad Sama'* words which mean 'Life' or 'Atma' and 'Supreme' or 'Parama' respectively. Sibwrai is therefore, the Supreme Soul for the Bodos.

In ancient texts, namely, the Manu Smriti and the Mudrarakshasa, the Kiratas have been classified as the Mlecchas and they were grouped together with all the people who did not practice the Brahminic Hinduism. The Kalika Upa-purana is supposed to have been

composed sometime around the tenth century AD and as such, it would have to be accepted that the Bodos had been living in this region since the age of Mahabharata till at least the tenth century AD. "The Kiratas formed a series of allied yet distinct tribes or clans inhabiting the Himalayan range and its Southern slopes from Punjab to Assam and Chittagong." (Ancient India – by R. C. Majumdar, P.515) "Gauda (West and North Bengal) was ruled by a Kambu family." (Ancient Indian History and Civilization – by Sailendra Nath Sen, P.280) "Khambu (Rai), Mech, Limbu, Yakha, Magar, Suwar, Gurung and Bhujel of Nepal and Sikkim constitute very important section of the Kirata communities. They are Mongoloids in origin." (Researches into the History and Civilization of the Kiratas – by G. P. Singh, P.86)

Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese traveler who visited this region in the first half of the seventh century AD (643 A.D.) has left an account to the effect that "The frontier of Kamarupa kingdom extends 10,000 Li (approx 1700 miles) and that of the capital is around 30 Li. Although the land has slopes but it is very productive. It is being cultivated on a regular basis. People here are involved in the farming of jackfruit and coconut. Dams are erected on rivers or lakes bringing forth the streams, which keep flowing all the time. As regards the climate of the region is tropical and wet. People belonging to this place are simple and honest and modest by nature. They are fair in complexion with a copper or yellow tinge and have short height and flat nose. The language they speak varies from that of the people of Central region of India. These people are aggressive and wild in nature. More so they have sharp minds and are very intelligent. Bhaskar Burman offered prayers to Shiva."

Turks invaded this region in the beginning of the thirteenth century AD and had left an account on the people living in the region. The Tabaqat-I-Nasiri of Minhaj, the Muslim writer narrates, among others, that the regions representing the modern Bangladesh and North Bengal were inhabited by the people called the Coches, the Meches and the Tharus, all of them having similar countenance to that of the Turks. They spoke a language different to that of the language spoken in Mid-India. The testimony of Minhaj would unfold before us that in the beginning of the thirteenth century AD too, the people living in this region were of the Bodo group, the Tibeto-Burmans who did not speak the Sanskrit. As stated earlier, generally the name of a place is derived from the term and/or the nomenclature of the indigenous people living in the region and/or it is named by the indigenous people in their own words to obviate the purpose of identification to the people of other regions and/or places. Ancient Assam had nothing to do with 'Jyotish' (astrology) and the Sanskrit was unknown to the people of the region. As such it would be too difficult if not absurd to say that the name 'Pragjyotishpura' is derived from the Sanskrit words 'Prag' and 'Jyotish' as if the Bodos living in this region were either the Sanskrit speakers or they had no language of their own to borrow some Sanskrit words to name their place of abode. In fact the Sanskrit itself is a *'tad bhava'* language created to serve the purposes of the Brahminic Hinduism which has reached the eastern regions including Bengal not earlier than the era post tenth century AD. The entire region from Bengal to the far-east was not even within the pale of the Mauryan and the Gupta Buddhist empires. History testifies further that during the age post Gupta period no dynasty including the dynasty of Harshavardhana ever annexed this region to their

kingdoms. Undoubtedly, this region maintained independence till the Mughals annexed some parts of it to their kingdom.

The people of this region, namely the Bodos have been maintaining their racial origin from the pre-Christian era till to-day. However, they were swept away by the tides of different religions at different times. Originally, they were devoted worshipers of innumerable gods with Shiva as their Supreme God; and during the Palas' regime they opted to follow the religious principles of the Buddhism to develop the tenets of the Vajrayana Buddhism. With the decline of the Buddhism in India and particularly during the reign of the Senas in Bengal, they reverted back to their original religion which was based on the principles of polytheism. The strong wave of the Brahminic Hinduism that was fast expanding towards east gradually submerged in it all the elite sections of the Bodos including the royal families and as such, beginning the fourteenth century A.D., the Bodo kings of Kamatapur, the Kachari kings of Cachar, the Mech-Bodo kings of Cochbehar and the Borok kings of Tripuara got converted into the Brahminic Hinduism and declared themselves as the Kshatriyas. Then again the Muslim rule over the region found them converted into the Islam in large numbers. The demography of the then East Bengal (modern Bangladesh) became over a night the one of Muslim majority. This factor contributed to the idea of merging the then East Bengal with Pakisthan. Even then, vast majority of the Bodos survived with their own faith, culture, language and traditions. The Census Reports of the British Government testify this fact. With the expansion of the Brahminic Hinduism, these people discovered innovations to modify their Bodo language to that of the Assamese and the Bengali Apabhrangshas. The Apabhrangshas, namely the Assamese and the Bengali were developed in this region from out of the Prakrit, i.e., the Bodo language. The Sanskrit was never a spoken language of the region nor was it an official language of any king. In view of this, it is highly unlikely that the name 'Pragjyotishpura' is derived from the Sanskrit words, 'Prag' and 'Jyotish'. We may have to reject this theory as false and baseless.

As stated earlier, Assam was the abode of the Kiratas and Cinas since the Mahabharata era till to-day. However, in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D., the Kachari kingdom of Assam experienced a serious jolt from the Ahom intrusion. The Bodos were no doubt, the rulers of entire Assam when the Ahoms entered into Assam sometime in 1215 A.D. But the Ahoms were successful in capturing certain parts of the Kachari kingdom in or about 1228 A.D. when they first established Ahom kingdom in upper Assam. As stated by George Van Driem in his book, 'Languages of the Himalayas', "The Ahoms were led by Sukapha, a prince who had left his ancestral kingdom of Nara. Sukapha left the village of Maulung and crossed the Patkai range in 1215 A.D. with eight noblemen and nine thousand commoners. He had with him two elephants and 300 horses." (P.328) Jasmine Saikia writes that their number was depleted to about one thousand by the time they crossed the Patkai range where they met strong resistance from the Nagas. Therefore, initially, the Ahoms had to live in harmony with the local people who were mostly the Bodos. They entered into marriage alliances with the Bodos as there were no Ahom females when they came to Assam. Therefore, George Van Driem has recorded correctly, "Many indigenous people of Assam now profess to be Ahoms, and they have adopted many Ahom rites and customs; their language, however, is

unmistakably Bodo." (Languages of the Himalayas, P.329) This would mean that the Bodos had their own language and even those who became the citizens of the Ahom kingdom did not abandon their language. In fact, the term 'Assam' is a compound word of the Bodo-Dimasa words, 'Ha' and 'Shyam'. In Dimasa Bodo language, 'ha' means land and 'Shyam' or 'Sham' means the Ahoms. The Dimasa-Kacharis used to identify the Ahom kingdom by calling it the land of the Ahoms or Shams. Thus, when Assam could be named with the Bodo words even in the thirteenth century A.D., it would be totally untrue to say that during the age of the Epics and the Puranas, the Bodos had to hire Sanskrit words to name their own kingdom.

Then again, when Assam was declared as a Province of British India in 1874, census was carried out by the British Government. The Census Reports of the British Government declare that almost in all the districts of Assam, the Bodo speaking people were predominantly the indigenous people inhabiting there since antiquity. Even after Independence, the Bodos were predominantly occupying many areas of Assam and as such, as many as thirty seven Tribal Blocks and Belts were created under Chapter X of the Assam Land Revenue Manual, 1886 for the protection of the land belonging to the Bodos. Thus it could firmly be said that the Bodos lived uninterruptedly in Assam from the age of the Mahabharata till they were destabilized by the Muslims and the Hindus in and after the nineteenth century A.D. They were not familiar with the Sanskrit. On this count also the theory of the Sanskrit origin of the term Pragjyotishpura is to be held as baseless and unacceptable.

We may now examine the issue from a different angle. While examining the issue, we may have a look at the position as prevailing in ancient India. The statements made by Thomas William Rhys David in his book, 'Buddhist India' may be relevant to this discussion and as such the relevant parts of his statements are reproduced below;

"The earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence. It is significant that this important factor in the social condition of India in the sixth and the seventh centuries B.C. has remained hitherto unnoticed by scholars either in Europe and India. They have relied for their information about the Indian peoples too exclusively on the Brahmin books. And these, partly because of the priests towards the free republics, partly because of the later date of most of the extant priestly literature, and especially of the law books ignore the real facts. They convey the impression that the only the recognized, and in fact universally prevalent, form of government was that the kings under the guidance and tutelage of priests. But the Buddhist records, amply confirmed in these aspects by the somewhat later Jain ones, leave no doubt upon the point." (Page 2)

This statement would speak volumes and strongly cautions us against the acceptance of the writings appearing in the Puranas and the Epics. One may read further;

"As regards the monarchies, the four as then of importance are as follows: 1. The kingdom of Magadha with its capital at Rajagaha (afterwards Pataliputra), reigned over at first by king Bimbisara and afterwards by his son Ajatasatru. 2. To the north-west there

was the kingdom of Kosala – the Northern Kosala – with its capital at Savatthi, ruled over at first by king Pasenadi and afterwards by his son Vidudabha. 3. Southwards from Kosala was the kingdom of the Vamsas or Vatsas, with their capital at Kosambi on the Yamuna, reigned over by King Udana, the son of Parantapa. 4. And still further South lay the kingdom of Avanti, with the capital Ujjini, reigned over by King Pajjota.

The royal families of these kingdoms were united by matrimonial alliances. ---- Thus Pasenadi's sister, the Kosala Devi, was the wife of Bimbisara, King of Magadha. Ajatasatru was Bibisara's son by another wife, the Videha lady from Mithila. The royal families of Kosambi and Avanti were also united by marriage. The commentary on verses 21-23 of the Dhammapada gives a long and romantic story of the in which Vasula-datta, the daughter of King Pajjota of Avanti, became the wife, or rather one of the three wives of King Udena of Kosambi." (Pp. 3, 4)

Then again, "We know that the daughter of one of the chiefs of a neighboring clan, equally free and equally proud, the Licchavis of Vesali, was married to Bimbisara, King of Magadha. It is furthermore, almost certain that the royal family at Savatthi was simply one of the patrician families who had managed to secure hereditary consulship in the Kosalan clan." (P.12)

To quote further; "We are told, however, that after the Buddha's death, King Ajatasatru asked (on the ground that he, like the Buddha, was Kshatriya) for a portion of the relics; that he obtained them; and built a stupa or a burial mound over them." (P.15)

The writer narrates, "The names of other clans, besides the Sakyas, are:

i. Sakyas of Kapilavastu,
ii. The Bullis of Allakappa,
iii. The Bhaggas of Sumsumara Hill,
iv. Katamas of Kesaputta,
v. The Koliyas of Ramagama,
vi. The Mallas of Kusinara,
vii. The Mallas of Pava,
viii. The Moriyas of Pippalivana,
ix. The Videhas of Mithila and
x. The Licchavis of Vesali.

The political divisions of India at or shortly before the time when Buddhism arose are well exemplified by the stock list of the sixteen great countries, the sixteen powers. It is interesting to notice that the names are names, not of countries, but of peoples. This shows that the main idea in the minds of those who drew up, or used, this old list was still tribal and not geographical. The list is follows:

1. Anga,
2. Magadha,
3. Kasi,
4. Kosala,
5. Vajji,

6. Malla,
7. Ceti,
8. Vamsa,
9. Kuru,
10. Pancala,
11. Maccha,
12. Surasena,
13. Assaka,
14. Avanti,
15. Ganghara and
16. Komboja." (Pp.22,23)

The book records further, "Mr. Grierson has only just recently pointed out the important fact that, even now, the dialects of Rajasthan have close resemblances to the dialects spoken along the Himalayas not only in Nepal but as far west, at least as Chamba. This would tend to show that their ancestors must have been living close together when they began their wanderings to the East and the South respectively. Both started from the Northern Punjab. These children of hill-men tended to cleave to the hills; and like, mountaineers, all the world over, were gradually distinguished by a sturdy independence, both in politics and religion. Widely separated, they were always sympathetic; and any forward movement, such as Buddhism, readily found supporters among them." (Pp.32, 33)

While suggesting that the said sixteen clans were of one racial stock, Thomas William Rhys David has written, "We have learnt in recent years that among primitive peoples all over the world there exist restrictions as to the connubium (the right of inter marriage), and as to commensality (the right of eating together). Customs of endogamy and exogamy, that is, of choosing a husband or wife outside a limited circle of relationship, and inside a wider circle were universal, a man, for instance, may not marry in his own family, he may marry within his own clan, he may not marry outside the clan. In India also in the seventh century B.C., such customs were prevalent." (Pp.52, 53)

The instances shown by Rhys David unite all the ancient sixteen clans and declare them to be of a single racial origin that of Lord Buddha. If compared, the marriage system and the cultural traditions of the modern Bodos would be found still similar to the ones as pointed out by Thomas William Rhys David. The people classified under sixteen clans spread from the West to the East, in all the aeas of the Indian sub-continent. They are of the Mongoloid stem to which the Bodos form an integral part. The Bodo as a language is very close to the ancient Prakrit spoken by the people living in the said sixteen Buddhist States in terms of its origin, phonology, structure and usage. As stated by writers including John Keay, the Sanskrit originated from the Pali and Prakrit at a much later stage. As stated by V. A. Apte, the term Sanskrit means refined and/or reformed. This would mean that certain language was reformed and modified to create the Sanskrit as a language. Which was the language that was refined to form the Sanskrit? The Prakrit was the language that was reformed to create the Sanskrit for sure. As such, at the formative stage of the Sanskrit language, when writers, namely, Kalidasa took to compose dramas

like ‘Shakuntalam’, ‘Vikramvarshiya’ and others, the Prakrit was used in his dramas along with the Sanskrit. In fact the Sanskrit was used in his dramas for communications only among the elite sections like the Kings and the Priests. Queens, princesses and common people are depicted as the Prakrit speaking people. According to A. L. Basham, “It was from the time of Panini onwards that the language began to be called Samskrita, ‘perfected’ or refined, as opposed to the Prakritas (natural), the popular dialects which had developed naturally.” (The Wonder that was India, Pp.390, 391) He writes further, “The Mauryas, and most Indian dynasties until the Guptas, used Prakrit for their official pronouncements.” (Ibid, P.591) Since all the sixteen States used only the Prakrit, the Mauryas and the Guptas also used the Prakrit and that the Bodos had their widely spoken own language, it would be nothing but a travesty of truth to say that ancient pre-Christian era Assam had to wait to get its posthumous name till the Sanskrit would originate after the Gupta era.

Therefore, on all the counts it would be totally baseless to say that the name of ancient Assam is derived from Sanskrit words ‘Prag’ and ‘Jyotish’. It would equally be illogical to say that the word ‘Pragjyotishpura’ is the compound of two ‘Austro-Asiatic’ words, ‘Pagar’ and ‘jut’ as stated by Dr. Kakati. The truth has been maliciously suppressed and the facts were mercilessly ignored by the Hindu historians and the Hindu writers with an objective to eliminate the existence of the Bodo Kiratas from this region as they have already been erased from the mid and western India. The pity is that the Indian history is based on fancyful narrations made in the Puranas and the Epics. While writing the ancient Indian history, they have ignored the accounts left by the foreign travelers, statements of many writers from the western world including Greek and Persian writers. They have preferred not to accept the Buddhist writings including the Mahavangsham that spell out the racial origin of all the ancient kings including Rama, Chandragupta and Ashoka to the effect that they belong to the racial stem of Lord Buddha, the Mongoloid Saint. In writing the ancient Assam history also the facts were discarded so as to sub-plant the Bodo history by unfounded surmises. Therefore, to-day we can read some absurd theories including the one as propounded by Dr. Bani Kanta Kakati who says that ‘Pragjyotishpura’ has originated from the Austro-Asiatic words, ‘Pagarjut (jo) – tic (c-ch)’. While rejecting the theory of Dr. Kakati, Mr. Arun Bhattacharji has stated in his book, ‘A History of Ancient India’, that “Dr. B. K. Kakati gives a different interpretation of the nomenclature of ‘Pragjyotishpura’. To him it is an Austro-Asiatic formation, namely, Pagarjut (jo) – tic (c-ch) which means a land of great mountain heights. It is Sanskritized word of non-Aryan formation. The opinion is far fetched.” (Note to Page 325) We would be inclined to join Mr. Arun Bhattacharjee to reject the theory of Dr. Kakati for reasons as stated hereafter. Firstly, Dr. Kakati should have given more examples of such origination which he found none. Secondly, almost all the names of the major rivers flowing through North Bengal, Assam, Tripura and Bangladesh bear names that are derived from the Bodo words. The rivers beginning the Tista to the Dihong, the Disang, the Dikhou, the Lao-ti (Louhit) and many others bear their names in Bodo words. These rivers would say in unison that this region had been the abode of the Bodos. When the rivers could be named in Bodo words, it would be fatally fallacious to say that for naming the region, the indigenous people had to hire the Austro-Asiatic terms. Thirdly, no history has ever told to us that the Bodo-Kiratas were ever destabilized in this region

by any external races during the pre-Christian era or thereafter till they were destabilized by the Muslims and the English people. On the contrary we find a continuous rule of the Bodos over this region until they were subjugated by the British. The treaties entered into during the nineteenth century by and between the local kings of this region and the British Government would also testify this fact. Fourthly, the Census Reports of the British Government would show that the Bodos were the indigenous people of the region who were majority in number. Lastly, the name of ancient Assam was not Pragjyotishpur at all and the term was a distorted form of the Bodo words that are shown below.

Since we say that 'Pragjyotishpura' was not the original name of ancient Assam and it was only a distorted form of certain Bodo words, the onus to establish our proposition is on us. Generally, a place is known from the people living in there. In ancient time, when there was no clear cut territory, people would get identified from the big river on the banks of which they used to live. Thus the people living to the east of the Sindhu River were called and identified by the Greeks, the Persians and the Muslims as Hindus. They found it difficult to pronounce 'Sindhu', the name of the river and softened it by calling it 'Hindu'. The term Hindu and/or India thus originated from the word 'Sindhu'. According to many renowned writers, the original name of the river was 'Sindai' which was later pronounced as the 'Sindhu'. 'Sindai' is a compound word of two Prakrit words. The Bodo is one of the Prakrit languages spoken by all the Kiratas since ancient time in India. The Bodo Kiratas settled through out India from Punjab to Burma even prior to the Epic Era. Hence, the Mahabharata testifies that the army of Bhagadutta, the king of Pragjyotishpura consisted of the Kiratas and the Cinas. While, Mudraraksha narrates that the people predominantly the Kiratas formed the army of Chandragupta and Parvataka (Puru). So there cannot be any doubt that the Prakrit speaking Kiratas were ruling whole of India before they were destabilized by the incoming Hunas in or about the sixth century AD. The Sanskrit is a refined form of the ancient Prakrit. The Prakrit and the Sanskrit are inseparable in terms of their forms and usages. As mentioned earlier, it is note worthy that Kalidasa used both the Sanskrit and the Prakrit in all the dramas composed by him. The Bodo as a Prakrit language has a close affinity to the Sanskrit and the Apabhrangsas, namely, the Assamese, the Bengali and the Hindi. Now, coming back to the issue taken for discussion, we may point out that the term 'Sindai' is a compound of two Bodo Prakrit words, 'sin' or 'sing' and 'dai'. Sin means piercing and 'dai' means river. 'Dai' is pronounced sometimes as 'di' and/or 'ti' in Bodo Prakrit as they had no strict rule for pronunciation. Sindai would therefore, mean and connote a piercing river. The term has been softened as 'Sindhu' in the Sanskrit, the refined form of the Prakrit. If one looks at the names of the rivers from the Sindhu to the Dihong, the Disang and the Dikhou, one would find that innumerable rivers bear the name ending 'di' or 'ti'. The way all the peoples living trans-Indus were called and identified as the Hindus, the people living on the plains of the 'Lao-ti' River (the Brahmaputra) were called the people from 'Laoti' and their region of abode was called 'Laoti'+ 'Pur'. In the Bodo Prakrit, 'Lao' means long and 'ti' means river. The term was modified as 'Louhitya' in the Sanskrit and as such, Kalidasa mentioned the river as 'Louhitya' in his book, 'Raghuvangsam'. As stated earlier, in old days, the Bodos used to identify themselves before others as the people from the river on the banks of which they lived in. This has been testified by Kailash Chandra Singha while writing about the origin of 'Tripura' as he says "Tripura

has been coined from two Tripuri (Bodo) words – 'tui' and 'pra'. 'Tui' means water and 'pra' means near. Tripura extended up to Bay of Bengal when its rulers held sway from Garo hills to Bay of Bengal to Arakan."

In this context, we may also recite the example of 'Prayaga' with reference to its meaning and purports. "Some manuscripts of the Vishnu Purana state, 'Anu-Ganga- Prayagam Magadha Guptas-ca bhoksyanti' i.e, Prayaga on the Ganges, will be enjoyed by the people of Magadha and Guptas. ----- The relevant passage of the Bhagavata Purana reads, 'Anu Gangama- Prayagam Gupta bhoksyanti medinim', (the Guptas will enjoy the earth up to Prayaga on the Ganges.) ---- Vayu Purana, about Guptas reads, 'Anu Ganga Prayagam-ca Saketam Magadhams-ca tatha etam Janapadan sarvan bhoksyante Gupta vangshaja' i. e, kings born of the Gupta family will enjoy all these territories viz, Ganges, Prayaga, Saketa and Magadha.' ---- The expression 'Anu Gangam Prayagam' literally means Prayaga, as having the same length and breath of the Ganges." (Imperial Guptas and their Times, Page 2 - by Dilip Kumar Ganguli) This means that 'Prayaga' is a derivative of the words, 'Pra' and 'Gnaga'. This theory perfectly fits in the formation of 'Tuipra' and/or 'Tipra' which was softened as 'Tripura' in later years.

Before concluding the discussion, one may go back to the era of Indus Valley civilization so as to find out the language spoken by the people of the Valley. We can read that "as a result of the structural analysis of the Indus script, the phonemes and their meaningful sequence have been ascertained, e. g., (1) Pa-Baka 'protector baka', (2) Pra-pa Baka 'great protector Baka' (3) Para-traka 'great savoiur', (4) Gara-traka 'Gara the protector' etc. In Semantics, phonology formation of nouns from roots e.g., tra 'save', tra (traka saviour) and declension of nominal stems in the nominative, instrumental, dative and genitive cases are (e.g., baka, baka+a, baka-ae and baka+ah(a)/aha)". (A History of Ancient India, Pp. 60, 61 - by Arun Bhattacharjee) The Harrappan language shows close affinity with the Bodo Prakrit and consequently it has affinity with the Sanskrit. It was believed that the Indus Valley language was from the proto-Dravidian. It has been pointed out by Dr. P. B. Desai in his Presidential Speech, Epigraphy Section, Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 34 the Session Vol. I, P.323 that "(1) Signs for g, th, d, and b, unknown in early Tamil occur in Harappan. (2) The whole series of retroflex or cerebral consonants is absent in the Harappan. (3) The system of forming 'samyukta aksharas' so common in Harappan is unknown to Tamil. (4) The genitive case developed as early in 1900 B.C. in the Harappan is not to be seen even as late as the second century A.D. in Tamil, e.g., the bilingual inscriptions on Satakarni's coin read:

(a) Vasiteiputasa siri satakarnisa (Prakrit)
(b) Vasitimaganakk tiru satakanikk (Tamil)

To mention some of the epithets and names occurring on the nine hundred (sixty per cent of the total undamaged) Indus seals are as under:

Atri, Gara, Laba, Kasapa, Tak, Laha, Bhaga, Sakra, Maks, Daks, Sasa, Barhi, Rakha, Dasa, Makha, Masaka, Sakala, Lamaha, Trta, Rta (Rita), Katru, Tarksa, Hela, Siva, Bhalaka, Madgala, Mana etc.

Tribes referred to in the seals are: Pakta, Druha, Alana, Asvala, Asvaha, Asvamaha, Alaha, Alina, Pipru, Aja, Pancela etc.

The places or countries mentioned therein are Malaha (Meluhha), Malla, Pancala, Saptasa, Dakshadvippa, Haptadvipa, Balaha (Balkh) etc. These seals refer to rulers (Protectors) of these countries, and occasionally of certain sacrifices and commodities."

These examples would show that the Prakrit was predominantly used in the Valley during the Indus Valley civilization. The terms and phonemes as mentioned earlier above are similar to those, e.g., Tuipra and Prayaga. Besides, some of the names of places and countries mentioned in the Harappan seals are found among the sixteen Buddhist States. The people of these sixteen States are the progenitors of the Bodos. In the Bodo Prakrit also yuktasksharas are predominantly used. Now, the theory applicable to 'Tripura' and 'Prayaga' may be applied to 'Pragjyotishpura'. How was this region mentioned by Kalidasa in his book, 'Raghuvangsam', one may have a look at it. He writes, "Chakampe teernalouhitye tasmin Pragjyotishvara." (Stanza 81, Chapter 4, Raghuvangsam) and states that Pragjyotishpura was to the proximity of the Louhitya' River. As prevalent during those days, the people living on the banks of the Louhitya River would identify themselves as the people from the region adjoining the river, Louhitya'. On the same principle as cited above in the cases of Tripura and Prayaga, one can undoubtedly say that the people living near the Louhitya River were known and called as 'Pra' + 'Gwlao' or 'Lao' + 'Ti' = 'Pragwlaoti'. The Bodo terms 'Lao' and 'Gwlao' mean and connote long. Thus 'Lao-ti' and/or 'Gwlao-ti' would mean a long river. Pragwlaoti would mean near or proximate to the long river. Lao-ti has been modified to read as Louhitya in the Sanskrit. In the Bodo, the term 'Pur' connotes a region or a State as it is in the Sanskrit. Thus by suffixing the term 'Pur' to 'Pragwlaoti', it would pronounce as 'Pragwlaotipur'. The word is so difficult to pronounce by the non-Bodos and therefore, it was softened in the Sanskrit and/or Apabhrangshas as 'Pragjyotishpura'. Thus the term 'Pragjyotishpura' came to be used as the name of ancient Assam.

Suggested Readings:

1. India Discovered - by John Keay,
2. Languages of the Himalayas - by George Van Driem,
3. Buddhist India - by Thomas William Rhys Davids,
4. Raghuvangsam - by Kalidasa,
5. A History of Ancient India - by Arun Bhattacharjee,
6. Bodo Civilization in India - by Bakul Chandra Basumatary
7. Wonder that was India – by A. L. Basham,
8. Ancient Indian History and Civilization – by Sailendra Nath Sen and
9. Researches into the History and Civilization of the Kiratas – by G. P. Singh,
10. Imperial Guptas and their Times - by Dilip Kumar Ganguli,
11. Si-Yu-Ki – Buddhist Records of the Western World – by Samuel Beal,

12. Culture, Creation and Procreation: Concepts of Kingship in South Asian Practice – by Monika Bock and Anita Rao and
13. Studies in the Geography of ancient and Medieval India, P.160 – by D. C. Sircar.

Unearthing the origin of the term 'Kamarupa'

"The early kingdom of Pragjyotisha (ancient Assam) comprised major parts of modern Assam together with the Jalpaiguri, Cochbehar, Rangpur, Bogra, Mymensingh, Dacca and Tippera Districts and parts of the Pabna District in Bengal and probably also the eastern areas of Nepal." (Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, P160 – by D. C. Sircar) Pragjyotishpura was the name of the region when the Bhauma dynasty founded by Narakasura, the son of Lord Visnu was ruling over the kingdom. The country was called and identified as 'Kamarupa' during the time of the Barmas, while its name was again changed to Ha-Sham in the middle of the thirteenth century when a considerable eastern part of the then Assam constituted a new Ahom kingdom. Ahoms were called by the Bodo-Dimasas as Sham and the land occupied by them, i.e., Ahoms was called as 'Ha-Sham' which means 'the land (Ha) of Sham'. The Modern "Assam was constituted in 1874 with 11 districts which were separated from Bengal and placed under a Chief Commissioner. It was divided in three divisions (a) Brahmaputra Valley, (b) Surma Valley and (c) the intervening hill tracts. Brahmaputra Valley division covered 21,414 Square miles.

The districts of Sylhet and Goalpara were acquired by East India Company in 1765 A.D. by the Diwani Grant, with the rest of Bengal. The plains portion of Cachar lapsed to British in 1830, on the death of the last native (Kachari) Raja Govinda Chandra without heirs. Hill tracts were annexed in 1854. The Garo Hills tracts were placed under a separate Officer in 1866. Khasi hills were annexed in 1833 partly by conquest and partly by treaty. Jayantia Hills were acquired in 1835, when the native Raja having forfeited his territory in the Plains for complicity in the human sacrifice of a British subject and voluntarily surrendered his hill territory for a pension of Rs.50/- per month.

In 1854 North Cachar sub-division was formed with a view to suppress the attacking Nagas. In 1866, British station was formed at Samagutting as the Head Quarters of Naga Hills. The North Cachar sub-division was distributed between Cachar, Nowgong and Naga Hills.

The Eastern Duwars portion of Goalpara District was annexed from Bhutan on the outbreak of the war of 1864." (Some Extracts of 'The Imperial Gazetteer of India', by W. W. Hunter)

Now the issue taken up for discussion is, why was ancient Assam under the Barmas called Kamarupa? Was ancient Assam really called 'Kamarupa' or is 'Kamarupa' a distorted form of some other word? Attempts are made to unearth the true origin of the term 'Kamarupa' in the discussion that follows.

Following the narrations appearing in the Kalika Purana, E. A. Gait in his book, 'History of Assam' has recited the episode showing the reason as to why ancient Assam was called Kamarupa. He writes, "The origin of the name Kamarupa is a mythological origin as explained below – when Sati died of vexation at the discourtesy shown to her husband Siva by her father Daksha, Siva overcome by grief wandered about the world carrying

dead body on his head. In order to put a stop to his penance, Vishnu followed him and lopped away the body piecemeal with his discuss. It fell to earth in fifty one different pieces and wherever each piece fell the ground was held to be sacred. Her organs of generation fell on Kamagiri, the Nilachal Hill near Gauhati and the place was thenceforth held sacred to Kamakhya, the goddess of sexual desire. As Siva still continued to do penance, other gods became afraid that he would thereby acquire universal power and accordingly dispatched Kamadeva, the Indian Cupid to make him fall in love again, and thereby break his penance; he succeeded in his mission but so enraged was Siva at the result that he burnt him to ashes by a fiery glance from the eye in the centre of his forehead. Kamadeva eventually recovered his original form and the country where this took place become known as Kamarupa." The Kalika Purana is stated to have been composed sometime in or about tenth century A.D. The Barmas took to rule over ancient Assam since about 350 A.D. The Barma kings are stated to have made several land grants in favor of their priests. Surprisingly, in none of their Land grants the origin of Kamarupa is found to have been explained. On the other hand, the Puranas have ever remained doubtful as a source of History.

The statements made in 'the Chapter – I of the Imperial Gazetteer of India – Indian Empire – Vol.II – Historical' may be relevant to the issue whether or not the Puranas can be accepted as historical documents. They read among others, "Puranas are not very much, in the way of reliable history. In the first place, some of the necessary materials were apperantly not available to the authors, and some of the dynasties are omitted altother. For instance, the Puranas do not include any references to the line established in North India by Kanishka, who, in doing that founded the so called Vikrama era commencing in 58 a.d. They mention the great dynasty of the Guptas (320 a. d. to 530 a. d.) in a merely vague manner, without individual names, as kings reigning over Saketa and the Magadha country and along the Ganges as far as Prayaga (Allahabad) – a description which can only apply to the actual rise of the Gupta power under Chandragupta-I (a.d. 320 to 335 a.d.). And with this statement about the Guptas- whom they would place more than three centuries ahead of the present day – they close their treatment of the dynasties: no later history is found in them." While disputing the reliability of the Puranas, the Gazetteer advances more reasons as follows;

i. No fixed dates are recorded in the Puranas to ascertain the Hindu eras.
ii. Statements regarding the reign of Hindu kings and their dynasty do not agree each other.
iii. Names of the ancient kings could not be deciphered correctly.
iv. Contemporaneous dynasties were treated as successive dynasties in the Puranas.

In view of the above, the Gazetteer records, "In short historical chapters of Puranas, the treatment of their subject is sketchy and meager, and the details are discrepant." Therefore, the Kamadeva episode of the Kalika Purana cannot be accepted as a historical basis for determining the origin and the connotation of the term 'Kamarupa'. To the contrary, it can be argued that the episode was concocted at a much later stage, i.e., after four hundred years from the fall of the Barma dynasty from Kamarupa and it was surely done with a view to mitigate the purpose of the Brahminic Hinduism expansion to the eastern parts of India. The Kamadeva episode is unacceptable for another reason as well.

Siva is described as the God with his place of abode at Kailasha; and Daksha was definitely not from ancient Assam. Similarly, Kamadeva has nothing to do with Assam. In view of this, if Siva was in penance, he might have done it either in the Kailsha or elsewhere in the Daksha territory. Then again if Kamadeva episode had really taken place and that as Daksha was of the Mahabharata age, Kamarupa, not Pragjyotishpura would have secured a place in the Mahabharata. Therefore, the Kamadeva episode is nothing but a surmise and the theory that the name of ancient Assam was known from the recovery of his original form by Kamadeva is nothing but a fanciful concoction.

Then it has been pointed out that the name of Kamarupa first appears in the Allahabad Pillar Inscriptions of Samudragupta, the Gupta King inscribed sometime in the fourth century A.D. "J. F. Fleet translates the 22nd line of the Allahabad Pillar Inscriptions as, 'whose imperious commands were fully gratified by giving of taxes and obeying his orders and coming to perform obeisance by his frontier kings of Samatata, Davaka, Kamarupa, Nepala, Kartripura and other countries and by Malavas, Arjunayanas, Youdheyas, Madrakas, Abhiras, Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas, Kharaparikas and other tribes.'" (Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal, P.17 – by D. R. Remi) The Allahabad Pillar Inscriptions were damaged and some parts of the inscriptions could not be deciphered. The word which has been deciphered as 'Kamarupa' was also badly damaged and certain letters of the word were missing. It is not free from doubt whether the word so reconstructed was 'Kamarupa' at all. Secondly, the Inscriptions were in ornamental and literary Sanskrit. Generally for all the writings, as mentioned elswewhere in this book, the Prakrit, not the Sanskrit was used during the period till the end of the Gupta rule. It is highly likely that the Allahabad Inscriptions were of much later age. Thirdly, the original Pillar had some Ashokan inscriptions on it and the inscriptions in question were redacted on it. This gives a strong doubt whether any Gupta king would have ever defaced the writings of Ashoka when both the Maurya dynasty and the Gupta dynasty were ardent followers of the Buddhism. The inscriptions might have been inscribed at a much later stage when the Brahminic Hinduism sprang up. J. F. Fleet called the Inscriptions as posthumous inscriptions. The word 'Aryavarta' gate-crashed in line 21 of the Inscriptions as they read 'who abounded in majority that had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradeva, Matila, Nagadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings of Aryavarta.' No Indian dynasty is heard claiming to have ruled in 'Aryavarta' during the Gupta period. As stated by V. A. Apte, the terms 'Sanskrit' and 'Arya' both would mean refined and/or modified. The Prakrit and/or Pali were refined as Sanskrit so as to serve the purposes of the Aryans, the product of racial fusion. When other writings of the Gupta kings were in the Prakrit, there does not appear to be any reason as to why this inscription was made in the Sanskrit. Fourthly, the inscriptions refer to certain kings with Varmans as their surnames. History reveals us that Indian Kings began to use 'Varman' as their surnames after the Manusmriti enjoined the Kshatriyas to use 'Varma' after their names. From the analysis of the ancient Sanskrit books it appears that the Manusmriti does not appear to have been composed before the sixth century A.D. The kings first using 'Varman' surnames were (a) Kirtivarmana-I, the Chalukya king who ruled from 566 to 610 A.D., (b) Mahendravarmana, the Pallava king who reigned from 600 A.D. to 630 A.D. and (c) Yasovarmana of Kanauj who reigned from 725 A.D. to 740 A.D. Besides, the kings of

the Barma dynasty of Kamarupa are stated to have used the surname since 350 A.D. It may be noted that the kings of Kamarupa were called Barmas not the Varmans. The term Barma is a derivative of the Bodo words, 'Baro' or 'Boro' and 'Ma' (the great) which would mean Boro/Baro, the great. The first Barma king of Kamarupa was Pushya Barma who reigned from 350 A.D. to 380 A.D. Therafter, Samudra Barma ruled over Kamarupa from 380 to 405 AD and then Bala Barma ruled over Kamarupa from 405 to 420 AD. The period during which Pushya Barma ruled over Kamarupa is almost identical to that of the reign of Samudragupta who ruled from 340 A.D. to 380 A.D. If at all Samudragupta had conquered Kamarupa, there is no reason why the Inscriptions should miss the name of Pushya Barma, the great king of Kamarupa. To the contrary, the Inscriptions say that Samudragupta defeated nine kings of Aryavarta including the king named 'Balabarmana'. There is no king named Balavarmana ruling in any country during 340A.D. to 380 A.D other than Bala Barma who ruled over Kamarupa from 405 to 420 AD. It would be borne in mind that during the era prior to the twelfth century AD, Kamrup and Bengal were beyond Aryavarta. Bala Barma, one of the kings of Barma dynasty of Kamarupa reigned from 405 A.D. to 420 A.D. i.e., much later than the death of Samudragupta. Fifthly, the inscriptions are un-dated, but from the opening lines of the inscriptions it is clear that they were inscribed after the death of Samudragupta. Further, according to Ramashankar Tripathy, identifications of Rudradeva, Chandravarman, Nagasena, Nandin, Balavarman and Hastivarman appearing in the inscriptions are yet to be ascertained. Therefore, it is highly likely that the inscriptions were the product of surmise that blended some facts with some fictions and that they were redacted during the post Gupta period when the Epics, the Puranas and other Sanskrit literatures were being composed to tout each other for the cause of the Brahminic Hinduism. None the less, the Allahabad Pillar Inscriptions do not give any hint about the reason as to why ancient Assam was called Kamarupa either.

Then the Raghuvangsham of Kalidasa mentions the name of Kamarupa as it reads;

> "Tameesha Kamarupanamatyakhandalavikramam |
> Vejebhinnakatairnanagirainyanuparurodha yai ||" (83)

(The Kamarupa king gifted away his elephant to Raghu who was more powerful than Indra.)

> "Kamarupeswarastasya hemapeetadhidevatam |
> Ratnapushpapaharena cchayamanarcha padayo ||" (84)

(The Kamarupa king worshipped Raghu by offering gems and flowers at his feet which were placed on a golden cushion.)

However, the Raghuvangsham also mentions the term 'Pragjyotisha' as it reads;

> "Chakampe teernalouhitye tasminpragjyotiseshwaro |
> Tadgajalanatang praptai saha kalagurudrumai ll) (81)

(The King of Pragjyotishpura shivered like a Kaladruma tree shivers when an elephant is tied with it, on the arrival of Raghu at the bank of the Louhitya.)

The inconsistency in the narration of Kalidasa is that ancient Assam was not called as Kamarupa during the age of the Ramayana which age is believed to be much earlier than the age of the Mahabharata. The country was called Pragjyotishpura in the pre-Christian era, not Kamarupa, as mentioned in the Raghuvangsham. Surprisingly, no mention of either Pragjyotishpura or Kamarupa is made in the Ramayana despite the soldiers of Sugriva, the King of Kiskindha searched for Sitadevi in all the places known to the writer of the Epic. As a name, Kamarupa was used since the era of the Barmas and not earlier. The Barmas of Bhauma dynasty ruled over Kamarupa for about three hundred years beginning 350A.D. The error of Kalidasa has happened surely for the reason that the Raghuvangsham was composed much after the reign of the Barmas. According to Henry Frowde, "The mention of Kalidasa in the Raghuvamsam, of Gokarna, in the North Kanara District, carries back the existence of that place, as a famous Saivasite, to at least beginning of the Seventh century A.D." Therefore, it is almost certain that Kalidasa might not have composed 'the Raghuvamsam' in or around the fourth century A.D. as it is generally believed. Kalidasa might not have been the Court Poet of Vikramaditya at all. For the reasons stated above, the reasons for calling ancient Assam as Kamarupa could not be ascertained on the basis of the Allahabad inscriptions, the Raghuvangsham and the Kalika Purana. Therefore, Henry Frowde has correctly said, "The Hindus have not transmitted to us any historical works which can be accepted as reliable for any early time."

Dr. B. K. Kakati has repudiated the Sanskrit origin of the term Kamarupa as he says that Kamarupa originated from 'Kamru + Pa', the name of a hill (Pa) of the god, 'Kamru', the words of Austric – Santals. The theory of the Austric origin of the term Kamarupa cannot be accepted for the reasons discussed about the origin of the term 'Pragjyotishpura' under the chapter relating to 'Pragjyotishpura: Its Roots are in the Bodo Prakrits' in this book. Further, demographic evidences testify in unison that the Bodos inhabited this region since the pre-Chritian era till today with multiple identifications, namely, the Kiratas, the Bhaumas, the Barmas, the Khambus, the Bodos, the Boros, the Meches, the Kacharis, the Dimasas, the Tiperas, the Kok-Boros, the Rais, the Khadgas, the Rajbangshis, the Koches, the Kamatapuris, the Bhuyans etc. The origin of the Kirata people can be traced back in combination of three races. "According to the Kirata Mandhum, three races are known by the names of Khambongbas or the Khambus, the Thangsongthas or the Mongols and the Munaphens or the Chinese. The Khambus were the first immigrants to the Himalayan region. The Thangsongthas and the Munaphens came later periods and intermingled with the Khambus and constituted a big race. The Khambus spread from Himalayan region to India, Burma, Syam, Vietnam, Malay and Philippine islands, established their respective records of history. In India, Kirata people occupied the regions from Himachal Pradesh to Assam in the North and from Manipur to Chittagong in South-East." (Buddha Sanskriti, P.47 – by Rahul Sanskritayan) Thus the words 'Khambu' and 'Kirata' would mean and identify the people of a single origin. Further, Kamarupa comprised of the territories including the modern north Bengal. As stated by Sailendra Nath Sen, "Of the new States, Gauda (West and North Bengal) was ruled by a

Kamboja family. Three kings of the family are known to us – Rajya Pala and his two sons, Narayan Pala and Nyayapala. Some high officials of the Palas belonging to Kamboja family took advantage of the weakness of the Pala rulers and set up independent kingdom." (Ancient Indian History and Civilization, Pp.280, 281 – by Sailendra Nath Sen) The statements of Mr. Sen tell us that the Palas were Khambus and/or Kambojas. Then again it is an admitted fact that the Palas of Kamarupa were of the Bhauma origin. This would infer that the Bhaumas, the Kiratas, the Barmas, the Mlecchas and the Palas were known and called as the Khambus as well. The lands occupied by the Khambus were called by the Bodos as Khambupura and/or Kambudesha. The Kambudesh was modified to read as Kambojas in the Sanskrit writings. Since Kambu people gradually moved from west to east to establish their countries, one can read multiple Kamboja deshas at various places and at different times as pointed out by various writers. They are mainly as under;

(a) Vayu Purana (V) [I 45.118], Brahmanda Purana (V) [1, 2.16.49] and Vamana Purana (13.40) etc. describe the Kamboja tribes in the Udichya or Uttarapatha.
(b) Agni Purana, Arthasashtra and Markandeya Purana (58.30.32) mention them as the tribes of South-West.
(c) Valmiki Ramayana locates them in the Uttarapatha, the lands of khambojas, Yavanas and Sakas. (Kiskindha Kanda)
(d) In Vasistha-Viswamitra war over Kamadhenu, the Khambojas and the Sakas participated as allies of Vasistha. The Kalika-Purana in Chapter 80, says that Vasistha, the Kirata Saint lived in Kamarupa.
(e) According to B. H. Hodgson, the name of Kamboja desha applies to Tibet. Dr. R. C. Majumdar agrees with Hodgson in his 'History of Bengal' (P.191).
(f) According to Alfred Foucher, the Kolisthan a mountainous area near Kabul might have been the land of Kambojas. But at another place, he has stated that according to Nepali traditions, the name Kamboja desha applies to Tibet. (Iconography Buddhique, P.134)
(g) Dr. Charles Eliot also locates the Kamboja janapda of the Sanskrit and Pali texts in Tibet or its border land. (Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol.I, P.268)
(h) Dr. G. G. Gokhale locates ancient Kamboja in Tibet. (Ancient History of India, 1952)
(i) Dr. V. A. Smith locates Kamboja in Tibet (Early History of India, Ed. IV, P.193)
(j) Dr. R. D. Banerjee refers to a Kamboja on the east of Samatata. (East Bengal, Banglar Itihas. Vol. I, P.95)
(k) "A branch of Central Asian Kamboja seems to have migrated eastwards towards Tibet in the wake of Kushan (1st Century A.D.) pressure and hence they are noticed in the Chronicles of Tibet (Kam-po-tsa, Kampo-ce, Kam-po-ji) and Nepal (Kamboja desha). Later these Kambojas appear to have moved towards Assam where they have wrested Bengal. --- R. R. Diwakar wrote: The Kambojas of ancient India are known to have been living in North-West, but they are known to have been living in the North-East India also. The 5th century Brahma Purana mentions the Kambojas around Pragjyotishpura and Tamralipta." (Ancient Kamboja Rashtra-I- An Article by L. S. Thind)
(l) The Buddhist text Sasanavamsa also attests the Kambojas in or around Assam.

Therefore, it is abundantly clear that the Khambus spread from the North-West India to the East beyond modern Assam. Besides, the narration appearing in the Chronicles of Tibet would strongly suggest that the terms 'Kamboja' or 'Kam-po-tsa' are derived from the Bodo-Kirata words 'Khambu' + 'Ccha' or 'Sa' meaning son or offspring of Khambu. This theory perfectly fits in the theory relating to the origination of the term 'Licchavi', 'Li' + 'cchavi' i.e., offsprings of Li. In the Bodo-Khambu language, 'Pura' means 'country'. Thus, the country occupied by the Khambusas was called and identified as Khambupura. The land of the 'Kam-po-tsas' or the 'Khambusas' in ancient Assam, was called as 'Khambupura'. It was later softened in the Sanskrit as 'Kamarupa'. However, the countries called as 'Kamboja' in earlier ancient records remained with their old names. Narayan Singh Rao records, "Possibly the Kiratas and Cinas dominated the ancient period; Changlang might have formed the core of Kirata Pradesh extending from Bengal and Bihar to South China encompassing the catch-ment areas of the valleys of the Chindwin, the Irravati, the Salween, the Mekong, the Menam and the Brahmaputra. In due course of time the Kiratas and Cinas migrated to Nepal, Central and North India. (Tribal Culture, Faith, History and Literature, P.14) He writes further, "The Kiratas, Cinas and Maha Cinas controlled a vast tract extending from South West of China to Kortoya in the West, Tibet in the North and Sea Coast (Bay of Bengal) in the South. Pragjyotishpura was ruled over by Kirata Chiefs." (Ibid, P.20) The Kiratas occupying the region comprising of modern Bangladesh, North Bengal, Assam, Tripura and some parts of Nepal were by the fourth century A.D., identified as the Khambusas, sons of Khambu family representing smaller Kirata groups, namely, the Bodos, the Koches, the Limbus, the Sunwars, the Yakkas, the Dhimals, the Hayus and the Kok Boros. According to Dor Bahadur Bista of Tribhuvan University, Prof. S. K. Chaterjee and Imamsing Chemjong, they (Khambus) migrated from Assam Valley to Nepal (Pallo Kirant) in or around 600 A.D. This corroborates the historical fact that had taken place after the death of Harshavardhana of Knauj. B. P. Sinha writes, "The period that followed the death of King Harsha Vardana of North India saw one of his ministers Arjuna usurp his kingdom with Kanauj as its capital. He insulted a Chinese Ambassador Wang-Heuen-Tse by attacking his mission to Kanauj. The Chinese Ambassador Wang-Heuen-Tse set to retaliate assisted by King Srong -Tsen Gampo of Nepal and Tibet and the Kirata King Bhaskar Varma or Kumara of Assam. King Srong-Tsen-Gampo dispatched a powerful military force of six Tamang divisions from Nepal for his aid and king Kumara joined forces with the Chinese Ambassador Wang Heuen-Tse waging a war against Arjuna, the adversary was defeated in the battle that ensued and was taken as a prisoner of war to Peking.

King Srong-Tsen-Gampo, then ordered his vassal Maw Rong of Khampa Jong to invade India through Limbuwan. Maw Rong of Khampa Jong restructured a gigantic army of the fearless Bhutia soldiers and invaded the Federal state of Limbuwan entering through Hatia, Walungsum and Tokpey passes and defeated the Ten Limbu forces in fierce battles that waged on. The Ten Limbu Chiefs sued for peace and surrendered on condition that they would accept King Maw Rong as Over Lord and contribute forces during wars and begged to rule their own districts. Their terms of peace were accepted by the King bringing an end to the period of conflict between the Ten Limbu chiefs and King Maw

Rong. This was followed by the formation of a powerful military force comprising of Tibetan as well as Kirat soldiers and the subsequent invasion of the Mithila province of North India and which they also occupied." (Decline of the Kingdom of Maghada - by B.P. Sinha, p 277)

Mawrong ruled over the country as the vassal of Tibet and then divided the country into four major provinces, namely, Khambuwan, Limbuwan, Lepchan and Morong. Khambuwan comprised of modern Bangladesh, North Bengal, Western part of Assam and certain portion of Nepal. The dynasty of Mawrong is believed to have ruled till the time of Srijung Hang (880 – 915) when their rule was destabilized by other group of Kiratas, the Bodo-Rais led by Changla Ing. Ancestors of Changla Ing hailed from Kamarupa and the dynasty established by Changla Ing is known as the Rai dynasty of Morong (Nepal) with their capital at Bijaypur. Pungla, the son of Changla got converted into the Hinduism and changed his name to 'Amar Rai'. He was succeeded by (i) Kirti Narayan Rai, (ii) Apa Narayan Rai, (iii) Jarai Narayan Rai, (iv) Ing Din Narayan Rai, (v) Bijay Narayan Rai and seven generations thereafter. In or about 1609 AD, Bodo-Rais were destabilized by Lo Hang Sen of another Kirata family.

It may now, be summarized in a nutshell that the Kiratas occupying ancient Assam during the period from the middle of the fourth century A.D. till about the tenth century A.D. were collectively called and identified as the Khambus of the great Kirata-Bodo family. The region occupied by them was called 'Khambupura', the country of the 'Khambus'. The term 'Khambupura' was softened and re-written as 'Kamarupa' in Sanskrit. With a view to support the Sanskrit origin of the term, the story of Kamadeva was concocted by some unscrupulous Hindu writers and maliciously wrote in their mythological texts with the sole intention of erasing the identity and the history of the Bodo Kiratas, once known as the Khambus, thereby surreptitiously proclaiming the Hindu suzerainty in the areas of the Bodo-Kiratas.

Suggested Readings:

1. Raghuvangsham – by Kalidasa,
2. Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India - by D. C. Sirkar
3. History of the Kirata People – by I. S. Chemjong,
4. Banglar Itihas – by Dr. R. D. Banerjee,
5. Tribal Culture, Faith, History and Literature – by Narayan Singh Rao,
6. Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal – by D. R. Remi,
7. The Ramayana – by Valmiki,
8. History of Assam – by E. A. Gait,
9. Kalika Purana,
10. Ancient History of India – by Dr. G. G. Gokhale,
11. Hinduism and Buddhism – by Dr. Charles Eliot,
12. Early History of India – by Dr. V. A. Smith,
13. The Imperial Gazetteer of India - by W. W. Hunter,
14. Decline of the Kingdom of Maghada - by B.P. Sinha,
15. History of Ancient India – by Rama Shankar Tripathy,
16. The Imperial Gazetteer of India – Indian Empire-Vol.II – History – Published by Henry Frowde and
17. The Imperial Gazetteer of India - by W. W. Hunter.

Indo-European Theory: A Bodo Perspective

Scythisch

Marcus Van Boxhorn while identifying the Indo-European language family in Leiden in 1647 propagated the 'Scythisch' theory of language relationship. Van Boxhorn included Sanskrit in the Scythian family on the basis of the vocabulary recorded by Ctesias of Cnidos in the 5th century B. C. He also included in the family all the known branches of Indo-European languages namely, Latin, Greek, Celtic, Indo-Iranian, Germanic, Baltic and Slavonic. According to him, the Scythian family excluded from it the languages of the Far East, Africa, America and Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament. In the beginning of the 19th century, Rasmus Rask, the Danish linguist added the Alabanian language to the family. The Czech scholar Bedrich Hrozny recognized Hittite to be Indo-European in 1915. The manuscripts written in Tocharian language were also included in the family during the beginning of the 20th century. In 1810, the Scythian family was coined as 'Indo-Germanic' by Danish geographer Conrad Malte-Brun. German scholars however, took objection to the use of the term and Wilhelm Von Humbolt proposed for the term 'Sanskritisch' as the alternative name for the family. In October 1813, Thomas Young first called it as 'Indo-European'**.** While attempting to trace the pedigree of the languages included in the Indo-European language family, Professor Adelung observed, there was a probable situation of the Paradise of the scripture in Kashmir between Persia, Tibet and Hindustan in the most elevated region of the globe; a country remarkable for its soil, its climate and for other natural advantages, which contributed to render its modern inhabitants, before their conquest by Afghans, distinguished for their beauty, their talents and their luxury. In this context, Young observed that the gypsies were certainly expelled from some part of India to spread their Scythic language to Europe.

In support of the Indo-European theory, the myth of Sanskrit speaking Aryan migration into India from Asia Minor areas was introduced and a history of ancient India was woven in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led by the English writers. In the result, the Indians have taken to believe that the migrated Aryans founded the civilization of India and the Sanskrit their language gave birth to languages like Hindi and Apabhrangshas in India. Now, let us have a relook to the Indo European theory with a limited language perspective.

As the Indo-European theory is based on the Scythic family of languages, it is relevant that the history of Scythic race and their language is first gone through. Fred Hamori in his 'The Real Scythians of Messopotamia' has observed, "The real Scythians, lived first in Anatolia before the 7th century BC, then moved in large numbers to the Kuban Region in early 6th century BC, then to the Pontic Steppes and later to eastern Europe and to Turkestan. Before this time they must have conducted long term trade with the region also. They greatly influenced the culture of the peoples they interacted with including the so called Finnougrians in the north and also the Hunic-Turkic peoples in the east.

We know relatively little of the early Scythian language, except that it came from ancient Anatolia and therefore it may be related to the languages of that region such as Hattic, Hurrian, Subarian. Indeed if these are used as a guide much of the language of these "real Scythians" from the 6th century BC to the 2nd century BC can be deciphered, whereas they cannot be understood with the help of Iranian languages. Only the later Sauromata and later pseudo Scyth language remains can be understood with Iranian. To make the confusion more complete, the conquering Sauromata also must have absorbed large Scythic elements which often kept many of their old customs, but were forced to change their languages. Therefore outwardly they must have seemed to be the same people. The explosion of Scythic peoples in the east could not just be a population explosion of one people but the whole conquered patchwork of peoples".

Now, we may go back further. It has even been argued that Anatolia was the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans and that they gradually spread east and west after about 7000 BC, carrying with them not only their Hittite language but also the invention of agriculture. There are, however, good grounds for rejecting this theory. Only a few of the tablets of the Hittite archives found at Bogazköy can be dated earlier than the 17th century BC; nevertheless, certain historical texts of this period have survived in the form of more or less reliable copies made in the 14th or 13th centuries.

Trevor Bryce writes: "Evidence of a 'Hattic' civilisation is provided by the remnants of one of the non-Indo-European languages found in the later Hittite archives. The language is identified in several of the texts in which it appears by the term *hattili*-i.e. '(written) in the language of Hatti.' The few texts that survive are predominantly religious or cultic in character. They provide us with the names of a number of Hattic deities, as well as Hattic personal and place-names."

Akkadian and Assyrians

Assyria and Babylonia played important roles in the history of Anatolia. Assyrians have used two languages throughout their history: ancient Assyrian (Akkadian), and Modern Assyrian (neo-syriac). Akkadian was written with the cuneiform writing system, on clay tablets, and was in use from the beginning to about 750 BC. By 750 B.C., a new way of writing, on parchment, leather, or papyrus, was developed, and the people who brought this method of writing with them, the Arameans, would eventually see their language, Aramaic, supplant Ancient Assyrian because of the technological breakthrough in writing. Aramaic was made the second official language of the Assyrian empire in 752 B.C. Although Assyrians switched to Aramaic, it was not wholesale transplantation. The brand of Aramaic that Assyrians spoke was, and is, heavily infused with Akkadian words, so much so that scholars refer to it as Assyrian Aramic.

'The Assyrian political and ideological foundations for the monarchy were established by the first Assyrian absolute Monarch Ashur-Uballit I (1363 – 1328 BC) after he won independence for Assyria from the Mittani', writes Peter Roberts.

While giving a vivid account of Assyria and the Assyrians, Lewis Spence has written the following in his book 'Myths and Legends'.

"The boundaries of the land where the races of Babylonia and Assyria evolved as one of the most remarkable and original civilizations in the world's history, are the two mighty rivers of Western Asia, the Tigris and Euphrates, Assyria being identical with the more northerly and mountainous portion, and Babylonia with the southerly part which inclined to be flat and marshy. Both tracts of country were inhabited by people of the same race, save that the Assyrians had acquired the characteristics of a population dwelling in a hilly country and had become to some extent intermingled with Hittite and Amorite elements. But both were branches of an ancient Semitic stock. In the oldest inscriptions discovered, we find those Semitic immigrants at strife with the indigenous people of the country, the Akkadians with whom they were subsequently to mingle and whose beliefs and magical and occult conceptions especially they were afterwards to incorporate with their own.

Who, then, were the Akkadians whom the Babylonian Semites came to displace but whom finally they mingled? Great and bitter has been the controversy which has raged around the racial attributes of these people. Some have held that they were of a race more nearly approached to the Mongols, the Lapp and Basque. The probability is that the Akkadians who were usually represented upon their monuments as a beardless people with oblique eyes, were connected with that great Mongolian family which has thrown out tentacles from its original home in Central Asia to the frozen regions of the Arctic, the North of Europe, the Turkish empire, aye, and perhaps to America itself. Akkadian in its linguistic features and especially in its grammatical structure shows a resemblance to the Ural-Altaic group of languages which embraces Turkish and Finish and this is in itself good evidence that the people who spoke it belonged to that ethnic division." This is enough to say that the Assyrian and the Babylonia civilizations also linked to those of the Mongolians of the Scythic stem.

As regards the people who belong to the Scythian origin, Brian Houghton Hodgson in his book, 'Essay the First: On the Koch, Bodo and Dhimal Tribes' has certified, "The great Scythic stem of the human race is divided into three primary branches, namely, the Tungus, the Mongols and the Turks. The first investigators of this subject urgently investigated on the radical diversity of these three races: but the most recent inquiries more inclined to unitize them. Certainly there is strong and obvious character of physical sameness throughout the Scythic race; and it is remarkable that this peculiar character belongs also to all the aborigines of India, who may be at once known from the Cavery and Vigaru to the Cosi and Bhagirathi, by their quasi-Scythic physiognomy. I apprehend that there will be found among the aborigines of India a like lingual sameness, and that very accurate investigation will consequently alone suffice to test the real nature and import of the double sameness, physical and lingual. That all the aborigines of Northern India are of the Scythian stem seems decidedly and justly inferable from their physical characteristics." It goes without saying that all the

aboriginals of Northern India from Kasmir to Assam, Manipur and Nagaland belong to the racial groups forming parts of the Mongoloid stem. The Bodos do belong to the Scythic racial stem too and the preponderance of probability is that the Bodo language forms a part of the Scythic family of languages as well. The Indo-European theory is based on the relationship presumed to exist between the Sanskrit and the European languages including the English. The affinity of the Bodo language to the Sanskrit, if any, may therefore, be relevant to this discussion. But before, examining the relationship between the Bodo and the Sanskrit, we may have a brief discussion on the issue of Aryan migration into India.

Aryan and the Sanskrit

We are in a position to read that some Western scholars are beginning to reject the Aryan invasion or any outside origin for Hindu civilization. David Frawley has observed in his 'Myth of Aryan Invasion of India', "Current archaeological data do not support the existence of an Indo Aryan or European invasion into South Asia at any time in the pre or proto-historic periods. Instead, it is possible to document archeologically a series of cultural changes reflecting indigenous cultural development from prehistoric to historic periods. The early Vedic literature describes not a human invasion into the area, but a fundamental restructuring of indigenous society. The Indo-Aryan invasion as an academic concept in 18th and 19th century Europe reflected the cultural milieu of the period. Linguistic data were used to validate the concept that in turn was used to interpret archeological and anthropological data. In other words, Vedic literature was interpreted on the assumption that there was an Aryan invasion. Then archeological evidence was interpreted by the same assumption. And both interpretations were then used to justify each other. It is nothing but a tautology, an exercise in circular thinking that only proves that if assuming something is true, it is found to be true."

The theory of Aryan migration into India proved to be a myth not a fact. None the less, we may discuss about the origin and definition of the term "Aryan' that may help the reader to appreciate the Bodo perspective of the Indo-European theory. As defined in the Students Sanskrit English Dictionary by V. S. Apte, 'Aryan' means 'refined', 'worthy', 'respectable', 'noble', 'high' etc. It has also been stated that the word was used in theatrical language as an honorific adjective and a respectful mode of address. Thus the word is not found to define any race or migrated group of people. It may be interesting to note here that the term was first used in the Buddhist texts to connote enlightened Buddha. The Buddhists used to call and identify Lord Buddha as 'Araha' to mean him as the Supreme Being. Again Araha or Arahan is an ephitet of both the Buddha and His noble disciples. Arahant signifies worthy one which is the meaning of the term Aryan as well. The Buddhist scholars including Dr. Pereira and Daya Hewapathir are of the opinion that the term 'Allah' is a derivative of Araha. Thus the terms Arahant/Araha, Arya and Allah do carry the same meaning.

In ancient India, as evident from the Buddhist writings, Pali and Prakrit were the languages of the common mass. The Buddhist canons were spread and preached in Pali and Prakrit. Many scholars are of the view that Prakrit was the spoken language of the mass while the written form of Prakrit was called as the Pali. The Brahmi script was used for writing these languages. The Brahmi script with minor changes was used till the Gupta period and during the era post Gupta period, the Brahmi script was modified to Nagari known as the Devanagari. About the evolution of the Brahmi script, in his book 'India Discovered', Mr. John Keay has observed, "Devanagari script has passed through three distinct stages; first the pin-men script Ashoka Brahmi, second more ornate, the chunky script (Gupta Brahmi) and the third, a more curved and rounded script (Kutila) from which springs the washing on the line script of Devanagari." As the Emperor Ashoka used the Brahmi script to write the canons of the Buddhism, the script has been identified as the Ashoka Brahmi. Gupta rule began in 320 AD and it came to an end in 650 AD. Therefore, Nagari script might not have been used prior to 650 AD. The Sanskrit is written in Devanagari script. From the list of the Sanskrit books displayed by Mr. Apte in his 'the Students Sanskrit English Dictionary' we find that the ancient books in Sanskrit were written not earlier than the sixth century AD. In the books of Kalidas, Prakrit was used as the means of communication of the common mass while the kings and the elite sections of the society are shown to communicate in Sanskrit. The queens and the princesses were also not speaking in Sanskrit as is evident in the Dramas of Kalidas. It is abundantly clear that Sanskrit was not the means of communication of the local mass of India even in the sixth century AD. Further, Sanskrit is believed to have originated from Pali and therefore, it would be noticeable that majority of Sanskrit words are identical to those of the Pali words. Hence, the theory that the Vedic literature, the Epics and the Puranas were of pre-Buddhist era does not appear to be an acceptable theory. It would thus be fallacious to say as Young observed that the gypsies were certainly expelled from some part of India to spread their Sanskrit language to Europe. When queens, princesses and other common masses were not communicating in Sanskrit even in the post gupta period, it would be nothing but a travesty of truth to say that gypsies of the pre-Christian era carried the Sanskrit to Europe in pre-historic era. Devanagari and Sanskrit having evolved only in or after the sixth century AD, it would be too difficult to stretch it to fit to the theory that the Sanskrit influenced the formation of European languages in the remote pre-Christian era. Secondly, the Sanskrit being the language confined to the elite section of the society even in the age of Kalidasa, it would be too much to expect the gypsies to carry the Sanskrit to spread it to the Europeans. But then it is found that there was Scythic influence in the formation and development of the European languages. If Sanskrit did not influence the evolution of European languages, what would then be the meaning and purports of the Indo-European theory? There is only one answer to this issue. The answer is that the Scythic language which was the language of Tungus, Mongols and Turks was also the root of the Sanskrit. Post Gupta period witnessed the Indians renouncing the Buddhism for the practice of god-worship. During this period, to identify and distinguish themselves from the people following the Buddhism they took to identify and call them as Aryans sup-planting the Buddhist term Arahan and to support the theory, they modified the Pali and the Prakrit

to create a modified language in the form of the Sanskrit. Hence, according to Mr. V. S. Apte, none of the ancient Sanskrit literatures is pre-Gupta period. Further, it is an admitted fact that the ancient human civilization first grew up in the Western Asia during the period of the Assyrians and/or the Akkadians who have been identified as the most ancient people belonging to the Scythic group of the Mongoloid stock. They maintained social intercourses with those of the non-Mongoloids living in the region and influenced them in respect of their culture, religion and language. From the facts prevailing in the Western Asia at that age that are now being discovered, it would be irresistible to hold that it was the Scythic language that lent support to the development of the European languages. The Scythic people would include all the aborigines of India including the Bodos and their languages, namely, the Pali and the Prakrit gave birth to the Sanskrit after the decline of the Buddhism in India. The affinity of the Bodo to the Pali and the Prakrit has been shown in detail by me in my book 'The Bodo: Its relation to the Pali, the Prakrit and the Sanskrit'.

The Bodo and the Pali

We may discuss in brief, about the relation between the Bodo and the Pali/the Prakrit/the Sanskrit. According to John Keay as opined by him in his book "India Discovered", the Pali is still a Tibet's holy language. Dr. Komal Chandra Jain is of the opinion that the Pali was the language of Lord Buddha. James Elvis and Childers believe that the Pali was the language of Magadha. Rhys Davidson is of the opinion that the Pali originated in Kosal while West Guard has stated that the Pali was the spoken language of the people living in Ujjain. On the other hand, Dr. Oldenberg and E. Muller have opined that the people of ancient Kalinga spoke in Pali. From the views of linguists, amongst others, cited above, it could reasonably be accepted that the Pali was spoken in the regions of Tibet, Kosal, Kapilavastu and/or Nepal, Magadha, Ujjain and Kalinga. It is a fact that all these regions were of the Buddhist people. While writing on the ancient Indian language, Dr. Meena Sharma has expressed her view in "Hindi Bhasha, Media Aur Sarvajanatmak Lekhan" that the ancient Indian language could be divided into three parts and they are as under.

a. Ancient language pertaining to the period from 1500 BC to 500 BC.
b. Language spoken during 500 BC to 1000 AD.
c. The present day language.

The Pali language is believed to have been widely used during pre-Christian era. The Pali is believed to have metamorphosed into a written form of the Prakrit in later years. It is interesting to note that the people residing in the Pali speaking areas were predominantly Tibeto-Burmans who practiced Buddhism as their religion. There has been close affinity between the Pali and the Bodo as well. Before we discuss about the affinity between the Pali and the Bodo, it is advisable to verify the meaning of the term 'Pali'. It is disappointing that the Indian scholars have not been able to unanimously pronounce a single meaning of the term 'Pali' though it has been a fact that the Pali was

used in writing 'Tipitaka'. Jagadish Kashyap has stated that the Pali has been derived from the word 'Pariyay', the teachings of the Buddhism written in Tipitaka. He is of the opinion that the word 'Pariyay' was pronounced as 'Paliyay' and from the word 'Paliyay', the word 'Pali' originated. Pandit Tridhushekhar Bhattacharya does not agree with Jagadish Kashyap and according to him, 'Pali' word is derived from the word 'Panti'. On the other hand, as stated in the 'Abhidhanappadipika', Pali means, 'Pa Paleti Rakkhatiti Pali' which connotes, 'The one which saves us from all sins, if we follow it, is the Pali.'

We may now examine the meaning and purports of the word 'Pali' in the Bodo. Buddhists believe and accept that the writings of Tipitaka should be obeyed and followed in their terms and purports. On following the teachings of Tipitaka, the followers of the Buddhism are believed to get protection from all sins. In the Bodo, 'Pali' signifies 'to obey' or 'to follow'. The word 'Pali' and its meaning have therefore, the same purports as that of the Bodo word 'Pali'. Bodos of the present day continue to use the word 'Pali' to mean and signify 'to follow' and/or 'to obey'. This is one of the living instances of the relations between the Pali and the Bodo. Apart from India, to day, the Pali is in use in Ceylon, Myanmar, Thailand and Tibet. The Pali has been reduced to writing in various scripts in various countries. In Ceylon it is written in Ceylonese script, in Myanmar it is written in Burmese letters while in Thailand it is written in Camboja script.

In India, the Pali as a language was extensively used during the period of Lord Buddha and the Emperor Ashoka. It is noticeable that for letters like 'Sha', 'Shha' and 'Sa', a single letter 'Sa' was used in the Pali. 'The Kachchayan Byakarana' also confirms this usage. During the reign of the Emperor Ashoka, the Prakrit came into prominence as the language of common mass. After the Gupta period, Apabhrangshas substituted for the the Pali and the Prakrit. From Gujrat to Assam, Apabhrangshas became the languages for communication of the people. As we proceed to discuss the origin and development of the Bodo, it would be distinct that the word formation, sentence structures, phonetic rules and their usages of the Bodo would seem similar to those of the Apabhrangshas.

The Bodo language

Bodos belong to the Mongoloid race and the Bodo is one of the Bodic languages. The Mongoloids have been divided into two groups in 'the Sino-Tibetan Etimological Dictionary'. They are the Chinese and the Tibeto-Burmans. The Mongoloids as a whole are also called Sino-Tibetans. The Himalayas plays the role in dividing these people into two prime groups. The Mongoloids living to the North of the Himalayas are classified as the Chinese while the people living to the South of the Himalayas including the people on the Himalayas are known as the Tibeto-Burmans. Considering the language spoken by these people, the people falling under the Tibeto-Burman group are again sub-divided into the following sub-groups.

a. The people living in the North-East of India and Myanmar are classified as the Kamrupans.

b. Those who are living on the Himalayas are called the Himalayeese Tibeto-Burmans. Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal and Sikkim fall in this group.
c. The people living in Sichuan and Yunnan are called Kiyangic Mongoloids.
d. Certain people living in the Northern Myanmar and the Southern Yunnan are called Jingphou-Nangese Mongoloids.
e. Mongoloids living in the South-East China, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam are known as the Loloyese-Nakshee Mongoloids.
f. Mongoloids living in the areas between Myanmar and Thailand are known as the Karenic Mongoloids.
g. Some groups of Mongoloids in Yunnan are identified as the Beyik Mongoloids.

Considering the phonology of the languages spoken by these Mongoloid Tibeto-Burmans, their languages have been generally classified into the following;

A. Kamrupan,
B. Himalayeese,
C. Kiyanjic,
D. Kachinic,
E. Lolo-Burmese and
F. Karenik.

The Bodo or the Boro language would fall under the category of the Kamrupan Tibeto-Burman language. Kamrupan language has again been sub-divided into the following languages.

-Boro, Garo, Dimasa, Tippera, Murung, Rabha etc.
-Kuki-Chin, Naga,
-Abar-Miri-Dafala.

According to Scot De Lancy, Kamrupan language could be called as the Barik language. Boro language and all the languages related to Boro language are grouped under the Barik language. Therefore, apart from Dimasa, Tippera, Murung and Rabha, the laguages namely, Bodo or Boro, Garo, Kanyak, Kuki, Chin, Lisay, Tidim, Lakher, Angami, Sema, Rengma, Nisi, Adi, Missimi could be classified as the Barik language according to him. The languages spoken by the Himalayan Tibeto-Burmans are grouped under the Bodic category. Bodic language has been sub-divided into two. They are, Kirantik and Tibeto-Kannauri. Kirantik language would include Limbu, Hayu, Sunwar, Chepang, Kham and Newari languages. While Tamang, Tibetan, Monfa, Gurung, Takali, Kinnauri and Pattani languages would fall under the Tibeto-Kinnauri group.

All the people speaking these languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman Mongoloid group. Thousands of years before, they are believed to have spoken a single language. In course of time, as they spread far and wide, it is but natural that their languages drifted apart to each others language and ultimately assumed different forms and tones. When writing was begun in India, their language was identified mainly as the Prakrits and the Pali. The Buddhist canons were therefore written in these languages so as to enable the common

mass to understand and follow the Buddhism in the pre-Christian era. Apart from Lord Buddha, Kirata kings including the Emperor Ashoka, the Turko-Mongoloid Kushana kings and the Kirata-Lichhavi Gupta kings propagated the principles of Buddhism in the Pali and the Prakrit. Their writings laid the foundation stone of Indian literature. On the Eastern front, it could be said that the literatures of Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Tripura and Nepal originated and developed at the patronage of the Bodo-Pala kings. The contribution of the Bodos to the Indian civilization, in that sense, is the most remarkable one.

Presently, forty one 'Nagari' letters are being used to write the Pali in India. The origin of the Nagari alphabets has been discussed in details by John Keay in his book, 'India Discovered'. He has stated that Pali Canons were written in 'Ashoka Brahmi' script by the Emperor Ashoka which was used by Guptas as well, with minor changes. Brahmi script underwent further changes after Guptas and finally the Brahmi script assumed the form of Nagari and/or Devanagari. Devanagari is being used for writing the modern Bodo language as well. However, certain deviations in the use of the alphabets in the Bodo are noticeable. Similar to the Pali, the Bodo language has a common letter 'Sa' for 'Sa', 'Sha' and 'Shha'.

It may be reiterated that the Bodo has a close relationship to the Pali and the Prakrit in terms of their tone and features. There are innumerable examples to cite in this regard. One instance is that, in the Pali, the word 'ti' is added to the verb used in third person singular number. Similarly in the Bodo, 'thi' is added to the verb though it is not restricted to the third person. A few of such examples are shown below.

Pali	**Bodo**
Purisa pachati	Purusua sangthi (yw)
Rama chhindati	Ramaa sinthi (yw)
Sugatha agachhati	Sugatho-a gasohwithi (yw)
Nara bhasati	Naro-a bungthi (yw)

It may be mentioned that the Bodos are spread to various parts of India. The Bodos living in different regions have developed their own forms and styles in speaking the Bodo. In some cases, the same language when spoken in North-Bengal will sound different to the one of the Bodos of Lower Assam and/or Tripura. Generally, the Bodos of North-Bengal would add the term 'thi' to the verb used in third person. The Bodos of Assam would add 'yw' to the verb. Almost in all the Bodo regions, Apabhrangshas have affected the Bodo to certain extent in terms of their phone, tone and usage. Never the less, the roots and usages of the Bodo words remained closely related to those of the Pali. Some examples showing the relationship between the words of the Pali and the Bodo are reproduced below.

Pali (plural number)	**Bodo (Plural number)**
Purisaa	Purusumwnaa
Ramaa	Rammwnaa
Sugataa	Sugatmwnaa
Naraa	Naramwnaa

It would be noticed that in both the languages, the word ends with 'aa' in plural. The rule relating to the formation of sentences is also similar in both the languages. The following sentences may be seen as a few examples in this regard.

Pali	**Bodo**
Rama Narena saddhim gamma gachhati	Ramaa Narenjwng gamiyao gasohwithi (yw)
Putta matulena saha chandam passati	Gotoya bimaijwng okhafwr naithi (yw)

It could be noticed that in both the languages, the subject appears first in the sentence, then the object comes and the verb appears in the last. We may now see the commonality of both the languages in 'Dative Case' some of which are shown below.

Pali	**Bodo**
Narassa	Naranisw
Ramassa	Ramnisw
Naranam	Naramwnni
Ramanam	Rammwnni

Then look at the locative case.

Pali	**Bodo**
Naramhi	Naranao
Matulamhi	Bimainao
Ramamhi	Ramnao

Following are the instances of Gerand in both the languages.

Pali	**Bodo**
Pachita	Chongthi
Khaditya	Jakhathi
Hanatya	Hathar

There are hundred thousands of words which are identical in both the Pali and the Bodo. The fact is that the Pali is known to-day because it was the language of Kirata Emperor Ashoka and Saint Lord Buddha. It is an accepted fact that Lord Buddha was called as Bodo by Greeks, Persians and the Kushanas in the manner the Sindhu River was called as the Hindu as they were unable to pronounce the terms 'Buddha' and 'Sindhu'. The followers of the Buddhism were thus identified as the Bodos while the people living beyond the Sindhu River were called as the Hindus.

The Prakrit and the Pali are closely related to each other as regards their words, sounds and morphology. Despite, the Prakrit was termed as the language of Mlechhas by the Sanskrit writers as they said, 'Prakritam Mlechha Bhashitam'. All languages spoken in the areas outside 'Madhyadesha', the abode of self proclaimed Aryanized (civilized) people have been identified as the Prakrits. Thus Maharashtree, Shouraseni, Magadhi, Ardhamagadhi, Paishasi, Prachya, Avanti, Shakari, Chandali and Dhakki dialects were stated to be the Prakrits. The Prakrits were not of Aryans as testified by the Sanskrit saying, 'Na shrotabyam dwijenaitad adho nayati tam dwijam.' Hence it goes without saying that people of these localities were not the Aryans when Sanskrit originated post gupta period. On the other hand, we come to know that Prakrits were the languages of sixteen Buddhist states of ancient India. The ancient history of India and neighboring countries tell us that during Buddha's time these states were of Mongoloid people who formed the branches of the larger Scythian stem of the Mongoloid tree. Therefore, these people claimed their rights to cremate Lord Buddha when he died. Then again we can read that beginning from Western Asia to the Pacific Ocean, the entire region was occupied and ruled since the seventh millennium BC if not earlier, by the people known as the Tungus, the Mongols and the Turks who were together sometimes, identified as the Scythians. The Bodo people are the progenies of them and the Bodo language owe its origin to the Scythic or the Prakrit as they were called and identified from time to time.

The Bodo and the Sanskrit

Admittedly, Sanskrit owes its origin to the Pali. The Bodo has a close affinity to the Pali. Therefore, the Bodo has also an affinity to the Sanskrit. In fact thousands of Bodo words and Sanskrit words are identical in terms of their form, phone, tone, usages and

meanings. This has been discussed in detail in my book, 'The Bodo: Its relation to the Pali, the Prakrit and the Sanskrit.' For an instant example of the commonality between the Sanskrit and the Bodo, we may quote the following;

a. In Sanskrit, the word 'Ahang' or 'Aham' is used as Ahang, Abam, Bayam in singular, dual and plural respectively. Aham means 'Ang' in the Bodo. The word is used as Ang, Angbo and Boibo in the Bodo in singular, dual and plural respectively. Please see, how close they are!
b. The rules of sentence formation in both the languages are similar.

Sanskrit	**Bodo**
Aham anna (m) khadami	Ang akham (khou) jakhayw (jayw)
Rama aranye gachhati	Ram-a arongbari-ao thangthiyw (thangw)

In these examples, Subject is coming first followed by the object and the verb is appearing in the last. It is different in English. The verb appears next to the subject in English.

c. The following similarities may also be observed.

	Sanskrit	**Bodo**
	(The word Raja)	
Nominative	raja	raja
Accusative	rajanam	rajakhou
Instrumental	ragya	rajajong
Dative	ragye	rajano
Ablative	ragyo	rajanifrai
Genative	ragyo	rajani
Locative	rajani	rajanao

In these examples, the Bodo appears to be a more accurate in its usage, as in the Sanskrit 'Raja' has taken the form of 'ragyo' in both Ablative and Genative. One would not be able to understand whether it is in Ablative or Genative unless he hears or reads the full sentence. In the Bodo, the word is indicative by itself. Never the less, both the Bodo and the Sanskrit follow a common rule in this regard.

The Bodo and the English

In English, certain pre-positions are used before a noun or pronoun to signify the cases. In the Bodo and the Sanskrit, the cases do not follow these English rules. It has been stated by some linguists that certain Sanskrit words are similar and identical to those of the English and/or European languages. To substantiate their statement in this regard, they quote the words, namely, 'Pitri', 'Matri' etc. which resemble to 'Father', 'Mother' respectively. If this is the reason of identifying the origin of the Sanskrit, one would find many of the Bodo words that may be identical to English words. Following are some of such examples.

Bodo	**English**
Bima	Mother/Ma-ma
Bifa/Afa	Father/ Pa-pa
Saan	Sun
Dor	Door
Lasai	Slow
Okhrang	Sky
Bikhung	Back
Wongkhri	Curry
Dwmai	Dim
Fram	Fry
Frai	From
Ring	Ring
Grwb	Grab
Mankhw	Mound
Silim	Slim
Dwrwth	Drag

Hokhrao	Cry
Aanoi	Untie
Dabla	Double
Ang	I
Khau	Cut
Bwn	Bind
Swb	smoke
Blao	Blow
Lao	Length/Long
Grou	Grow
Long long	Long
(Ha) thorkhi	Star
Glob	Gobble
Halo	Hollow
Dollop	Dollop
Dum	Doom
Khorai	Crawl
Hong	Honk
Dabrai	Drive/Ride
Siyay	Sigh
Soo (thi)	Sew
Rojonai	Germinate
Sib	Sweep

Bai	Buy
Lama	Lane

These references are left for the readers to draw inference in this regard on their own.

Conclusion

It may be summarized that since 7000 BC, if not earlier, people of Scythian stem have been occupying the whole of Asia. There is no instance of European migration towards east during pre-Christian era. To the contrary, there are instances of the Scythians encroaching into European territories and their linguistic influences on European tongues. When we talk about Indo-European, we understand it as a theory based on Scythian tongue. People known as Tungus, Mongols and Turks are identified as the Scythians. They were spread to India since pre-historic period. The Aryan society was the result of fundamental restructuring of indigenous society. The theory of Aryan invasion of India is only a myth and not a fact. The Tungus, the Turks and the Mongols of the Scythian stem were the indigenous people of Asia including India. The Bodos are their off-springs. Therefore, it would be logical to hold a view that the Bodo, a language closely connected to the Pali, the Prakrit and the Sanskrit contributed to the foundation of the Indo-European theory. The process of restructuring indigenous Indian society into Aryan society encompassed the Bodo society as well.

Suggested Readings

1. The Real Scythians of Messopotamia – by Fred Hamori
2. Myth and Legends - by Lewis Spence
3. Essay the First: On the Koch, Bodo and Dhimal Tribes – by Brian H Hodgson
4. Myth of Aryan Invasion - by David Frawley
5. The Students Sanskrit English Dictionary - by V. S. Apte
6. India Discovered - by John Keay
7. Shakuntalam - by Kalidas
8. Vikramvarshiya - by Kalidas
9. Hindi Bhasha, Media Aur Sarbajanik Lekhan - by Dr. Meena Sharma
10. The Supreme Being: Boddo – Bod – God and Araha - by Daya Hewapathir.

Bodos: Their Evolution with the Hinduism

Definition of Hindu

The term 'Hindu' is admittedly derived from the name of the Sindhu River. When the people of the western world, namely, Persia, Greece and Europe came into contact with the people living on the plains of the Sindhu River and the regions to the East of the river, they identified and called them as Hindus as they found it difficult to pronounce the word, 'Sindhu'. R. C. Majumdar and others have opined that "like 'Sapta Sindhu' and 'Hapta Hindu'- the appellations of the country of the Aryans in the Veda, it is derived from the Sindhu (the Indus), the great river which constitutes the most imposing feature of that part of sub-continent. Closely connected with 'Hindu' are the later designations 'Hind' and 'Hindustan' as found in the mediaval writings" (An Advanced History of India, P.4 –by R. C. Majumdar). While Mr. A. L. Basham has written, "The Indians knew this river as Sindhu (Sindai), the Persians who found difficult in pronouncing an initial 'S', called it Hindu. From Persia the word passed to Greece, where the whole of India became known by the name of the river. The ancient Indians knew their sub-continent as Jambudvipa (the continent of Jambu tree). With the Muslim invasion, the Persian name returned in the form of Hindustan and those of its inhabitants who followed the old religion became known as Hindus. The form Hindustan, popular in modern India, is an Indo-Iranian hybrid with no linguistic jurisdiction" (Wonder that was India, P.1 – by A. L. Basham). These would suggest among others that the origin of the Aryans and their Vedas are of the post Buddhist period, in any event not before the invasions of the Greeks, the Persians and/or the Muslims, if not so, they would have called the country as 'Aryasthan' in stead of calling it Hindusthan. Therefore, Mr. Basham has pointed out; "Hindu cosmology in its final form was perhaps later than the cosmologies of the Buddhists and the Jainas'' (Ibid – P.323). The Europeans, particularly, the British used the term to mean and identify the people who were neither the Muslims nor the Christians. Thus the term Hindu would include in it all people who practiced the Buddhism or the Jainism or the Sikhism or the Animism or the Theism and/or the Brhaminism whether they were Brahmins and/or tribes. This has been confirmed by statutes of India namely, 'the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955' etc. wherein the people with identifications say, Hindu Virashaiva, Hindu Lingayat, Hindu Brahmo, Followers of Prarthana and Arya Samaj together with the Buddhists, the Jainas, the Sikhs and all other people who are not the Muslims, the Christians, the Parsis and/or the Jews have been grouped together for the purposes of the respective legislations. In other words, all of them are the Hindus in real term.

Evolution of Hinduism

In a remote pre-Christian era, people realized their limitations and acknowledged the supremacy of nature including the sun, the moon, the water, the wind, the fire, the sky, so forth and so on. They personified each of them as god and took to submit before them which event had happened to all the primitive people irrespective of their racial groups and geographical territories. According to Sayce, "In historical Babylonia, the gods were

conceived in the form of man. Man was created in the image of god and the gods became men. In pre-semitic Sumer, instead of the 'Zi' or spirit, a word properly signifying 'life' which manifested itself in the power of motion was accepted. All things that moved were possessed of life, and there was accordingly a life or spirit of the water as well as man and beast. – Sumerian theology, in fact, was still on the level of animism. – Vestiges of the old animism can still be detected even in the later cult; by the side of the human gods; an Assyrian prayer invokes the mountains, the rivers and winds, and from time to time we came across a warship of deified towns. It was the town itself that was divine, not the deity to whom its chief temple was dedicated. So again, the god or goddess continued to be symbolized by some sacred animal or object whose figure appears upon seals and boundary stones. --- The Semitic god of Babylon was lord of gods and men, of heaven and earth. Assur of Assyria was 'king of gods' and lord of the heavenly hosts." In course of time, thus appeared 'Ishwar' among the Assyrians; Brahma, Vishnu, Maheswara, Yama, Barun, Pavana etc. among the Indians; Indra among the Tibetans, Burha Bathou (Sibrai or Shiva) among the Bodos; Gorakh Nath among the Nepalis. As the human civilization advanced, some of the over ambitious communities that sprang up gradually, with intention to dominate others adopted ideas thereby declaring themselves as the direct descendents of the Sun, the Moon, the God ruling the sky etc. This practice had been in prevalence mostly among the people living in Central Asia, South East Asia and Indian peninsula. The primitive people had taken to worship gods and goddesses not only to obtain blessings from them in their day to day living but also to get rid of all evils and to ward off misfortunes. Fear was one of the prime factors of the primitive people submitting them before the gods and goddesses. When the religion emerged as a distinct sector, the religious prescriptions were codified to be followed and/or obeyed and the people are foretold to suffer in Hell or Jahannum or Naraka should they disobey their religious doctrines. Shrimad Bhagavat Geeta has gone ahead to warn the followers of the Hinduism to the following effect:

Yada yadahi dharmasya glanir bhabati Bharata;
Adbhyutthanam dharmasya tadatmanang srijamyaham.
(Paragraph 7, Chapter IV of Shreemad Bhagavat Geeta)

(Whenever righteousness declines and unrighteousness prevails, I manifest Myself.)

Paritranhaya sadhunang vinashaya cha dushkritam;
Dharma sangsthapanarthaya sambhavami yuge yuge.
(Paragraph 8, Chapter IV of Shreemad Bhagavat Geeta.)

(For the protection of the righteous and destruction of the wicked, and for the establishment of religion, I come into being from age to age.)

In consonance therewith, the Puranas were composed to pronounce as many as ten incarnations of the God and in each incarnation, the God is stated to have punished the wicked persons. Let all of us live and behave righteously lest the God will manifest to punish us!

As regards the codified form of religion, we may have to mention the writings on the Buddhism as the foremost religious documents in India. Lord Buddha propagated the Buddhism for the benefit of whole mankind and showed the world the reasons for human sufferings. He gave us ways and means to minimize the sufferings of mankind and advised us to follow the path leading to peaceful living with less suffering. In India and its neighboring countries, people were glad to embrace the Buddhism. Thereafter, came into appearance the Christianity followed by the Islam similar to the Buddhism, fundamentally designed for the welfare and peaceful co-existence of the mankind in the globe. The Buddhism declined in India following the Huna aggression and it disappeared from the North India after the death of Harshavardhana though it continued in Bengal and Kamarupa till about the 12th century. After the decline of the Buddhism, the people of India returned to the pre-Buddhist period and restored their religious practices of god worship. Following the Muslim expansion towards east, all the peoples of India were identified as the Hindus and with their new identification as the Hindus, Indian people needed something new to distinguish them from those of the existing aboriginal Indians who were hitherto following the Buddhism and hence introduced the myth of Aryan ingress into India from outside. This theory being found fictitious and baseless, they hastened to correct the theory of their origin by introducing Puranic tales and epical stories. 'The Puranas', according to Arun Bhattacharjee, 'unfold Hinduism in all its different aspects – mythology, idol worship, theism, pantheism, superstitions, festivals and ceremonials'. To support the causes of the Hinduism, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Smrities, the Puranas etc. were composed one touting the other and the Hindus took to trace their origin from the kings and sages mentioned in the said epics. To supplement their traced origin, they discovered the idea of dividing people on the basis of their profession, as if the profession of a person is perpetual, giving the highest status to the people doing the services relating to worship which they might have thought would fortify their status in perpetuity. The ruling clan continued to prevail their supremacy all along which could not be tolerated by the ambitious Brahmins and as such some over jealous persons of their Varna merrily discovered the story of Parasurama who is stated to have destroyed all the Kshatriyas on earth.

Inadequacy of the Hindu Varna System

Then one fine morning, the entire world rejected the system of kingship and/or oligarchy to accept the doctrines of democracy as the best form of Government. The Hindu theory that the Kshatriyas are born to rule proved false fairly and squarely, for in democracy, people themselves, not the Kshatriyas, rule their country. With the passage of time privileges to Brahmins and privy purses to princes took to dry up and in the struggle for survival, people were compelled to follow professions that are suited to them according to their ability, qualification and expertise. In free India, irrespective of their status in their Varna system, even the people of higher rungs had taken to do the jobs meant for the lowest rung of the Hindu society. As prescribed in the Manusmriti, all people rendering service to others fall within the caste of Shudras. The pity is that with the advancement of science and technology, the service sector has proved to be the most rewarding profession of all other professions and the modern generation has been glad to opt for the service related jobs that ensure them better living. As per the doctrines of the

Manusmriti most of the present Hindus who have opted for the service related jobs, irrespective of their origin, would have to be classified as the Shudras. This classification, if followed strictly, may be a bitter pill to swallow. The Hindu philosophy has again been seen inappropriate and inadequate on this count too. However, the system remained to be rectified to suit the circumstances prevailing in free India and the Hindus with higher caste status continued to maintain their Varna status, irrespective of their engagements for cleaning roads, washing public places, watching buildings, sweeping office premises etc. These glaring instances of disparity among the people and/or communities have in later years, sowed the seeds of divisiveness in the society simultaneously breeding in the minds of the under developed people the feelings of hatred and distrust leading to extremism.

As unfolded in the history, kingship was practiced in India from the 6th century B.C. if not earlier, till independence. However, for certain obvious reasons, the origin of the kings ruling in ancient India has not been identified while writing the Indian history. Though the Indians do possess extraordinary memory to recite innumerable lines of the Vedas and Smrities presumed to have been told some thousands of years before, by the God Himself to their ancient forefathers, the same Indians are not in a position to remember the origins of the ancient Indian kings while writing the India history. What a selective memory!

Kiratas formed Hindu Dynasties

While tracing the origin of the Hindu kings in the Puranas and other literatures, they are mainly classified as belonging to (a) Surya Vangsha, (b) Chandra Vangsha, (c) Agnikula Rajput clan and (d) Hiranyagarbha Raj Vangsha. The kings belonging to the clan of Rama are identified as Surya Vangshi kings. They are called as Raghu Vangshi as well and the Raghu Vangsham of Kalidasa gives us detailed narrations about Raghu Vangsha. While identifying the kings belonging to the Chandra Vangsha, the following lineage has been unfolded in the Vishnu Purana.

Atri, the sage
Soma, the Moon,
Budha, the Mercury,
Pauravas,
Ayu, the Ayus
Nimesha,
Yayati,

Yadavas	Pauravas
Yadus	Puru
(Extinct after Yadus)	Janmejaya
	Prachinavat
	Pravira
	Manasya
	Abhayadu
	Sudyumna

Bahugava
Samyati
Ahamyati
Raudraswa
Rantinara
Tansu
Anila
Dushyanta
Bharata
Bharadwaja
Bhavanmanyu
Brihatkshatra
Suhatra
Hastin
Ajamidha
Riksha
Samavayana
Kuru
Jahnu
Suratha
Viduratha
Sarvabhauma
Yayasena
Aravin
Ayutayusha
Akrodhana
Devatithi
Riksha
Dillip
Pratipa
Santanu
Pandu
Dhritarashtra
Yudhistira
Parikshit
Janmejaya

In the Constitution, India has been identified after the name of Bharata of the Chandra Vangsha. In reality, who are these Chandra Vangshi descendants? If we are in a position to recite our forefathers so accurately, why was then the origin of the ancient Indian kings camouflaged and/or suppressed in the Indian history? One would see, among the names mentioned above, the name of Puru has found a place in the Indian history. “Some scholars are of the opinion that Parvataka was none else but Porus who valiantly fought with Alexander. --- After the departure of Alexander from India, he appointed Porus his representative to rule over Punjab.” (History of Indian Theatre – Vol.3 – by Manohar Laxman Varandpande) Charles Drekmeir has pointed out in his book titled ‘Kingship and

Community in early India' to the effect that 'Sanskrit Drama Mudra-Rakshasa by Vishakha Dutta and the Jain work Parisishtaparvana refer to Chandra Gupta's alliance with Himalayan king Parvataka. The Himalayan alliance gave Chandra Gupta a formidable composite army made up of the cavalry of the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Kiratas, Parasikas and Bahlikas as attested by Mudrarakhshasa.' Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pahlavas, Paradas, Yavanas attested to have been comming as invaders from Central Asia to India in pre-Christian era. Fa-Hian, the Chinese traveler into India has identified all of them as the people belonging to the great Mongoloid race. They were all finally absorbed into the communities of Kshatriya in Indian community. As testified by H. G. Rawlinson, "The facts show that the second century B. C. E Saka invasion of Western India was probably carried out jointly by the Sakas, Pahlavas, Kambojas, Paradas and Rishikas and other allied tribes from the North-West." (Interaction Between India and Western World, PP. 75, 93) Vishakha Dutta has classified all of them including the Kiratas as Mlechhas having ruled over all the regions of the North-West India. It is evident that Porus with his Kirata forces stood against the strong march of Alexander. Besides the Mudrarakshasa, Puru and/or Porus has been identified as Parvataka in many of Indian writings. Now, one may have a look over the Indian demography prevailing in ancient India. In Mudrarakshasa, Parvataka is identified as the king of the hill with Kiratas and other hill people in his army. He was the ruler of Punjab and maintained alliance with Chandragupta who had also Kiratas in his force. During the Mahabharata age, Bhagadutta was ruling over Pragjyotishpura and had Kiratas and Cinas in his strong army. Reciting the statements appearing in the Mahabharata, T. Raatan has testified, "King Narakasura, whose son Bhagadatta distinguished himself in the Mahabharata war ruled Pragjyotishpura. The Vedas called Mongoloids Kiratas, and the present day tribes of the North East are considered to be the descendants of the Kiratas. The Kirata King Narakasura is said to be the founder of Pragjyotishpura." (History, Religion and Culture of North East India, P.71 – by T. Raatan) The people belonging to the kingdoms of Parvataka, Chandragupta and Pragjyotishpura had a commonality among them in respect of their racial origin. They were followed by the Kushanas and the Hunas, the Scythians of Mongoloid stem into India. Thus, since Buddha's time and even subsequent thereto, there are innumerable materials to substantiate that Kiratas once ruled over India from the Indus River on the West to Pragjyotishpura on the East. In other words, there is preponderance of strong probability that Puru @ Parvataka was a Kirata king belonging to the Mongoloid stem. The term 'Parvataka' itself is suggestive of the king being a hill-dweller.

Besides, Mahavamsa (the Great Chronicles of Ceylon) and Deepavamsa have certified that Lord Buddha was born in the dynasty of Mahasammat and the dynasty ruled over the entire ancient North India for thousands of years. All the dynasties ruling over Pippalivana, Kosala, Magadha, Anga, Videha, Vriji (Vaishali), Kusinara, Pava, Ramagama and/or Mithila originated from Mahasammata. In these books, the Indian greats like, Bharata, Dasharatha, Rama, Chandragupta and Ashoka are stated to have born in the family of Lord Buddha. (Please read 'Mahavamsa: the Great Chronicles of Ceylon' by Wilhelm Griger, Chapters II and III) Mr. Wilhelm Griger has stated further, "The Indian kings according to the Southern Buddhist tradition are the following; (i) Bimbisara, (ii) Ajatsattu, (iii) Udaybhadda, (iv) Anuruddha, (v) Munda, (vi) Nagadasaka,

(vii) Susunaga, (viii) Kalasoka, (ix) Ten sons of Kalasoka, (x) Nine Nandas, (xi) Chandagupta, (xii) Bindusara and (xiii) Asoka." Thus there cannot be any hesitation to say that ancient India was ruled by the people of Mongoloid Kiratas, the progenitors of the modern Bodos.

Further, as pointed out by James Tod, "Bhagavata Purana says that Buddha, the partriarchic figure of the Yadu, Turvasa, Druhyu, Anu and Puru clans had come from Central Asia to Bharata Khanda to perform penitential rites and he espoused Ella, the daughter of Manu, by whom was born Pururbas. Pururbas had six sons, one of whom is said Ayu. This Ayu or Ay is said to be the patriarch figure of the Tartars of Central Asia as well as of the first race of the kings of China (Annal and Antiquities of Rajasthan, P.172 – by James Tod). Further, as stated by Samuel Beal, "The Buddhists affirm that Asoka belonged to the same family as Buddha, because he was descended from Chandragupta, who was the child of the queen of one of the sovereigns of Moriyanagara. This Moriyanagara was the city founded by the Sakya youth who fled from Kapilavastu, so that whatever old legends were connected with the Sakya family, they were probably referred to Udyana by the direct or indirect influence of Ashoka. In any case, the history of Udyana is mixed up with that of Sakya family and Buddha himself is made to acknowledge Uttarasena as one of his own kinsmen." (Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, P. xviii – by Samuel Beal) Therefore, it is clear beyond reasonable doubt that Chandra Vangsha is one of the clans of the ancient Kirata-Mongoloid nation and they preferred to be identified as the Hindu Chadra Vangshis when the old practice of god worship took to re-emerge under the name and style, 'the Hinduism'.

Should one critically examine the religious evolution in India, one would find that with a view to subvent the ancient method of god worship, the so called Aryanised people introduced the practice of Yajnahuti (Offerings made into Fire-pit in the name of Brahma) in their homeland after the decline of the Buddhism in India. In ancient India, there had been innumerable religious sects. As stated in 'the Age of Imperial Unity' at page 360, "Of the religious sects four alone played an important part. These are Jainism, Buddhism, Vaishnavism and Saivism. The first three had their origin in the eastern and western parts of India which were outside the pale of Madhyadesha, the homeland of orthodox Vedic culture. Saivism had also non-Vedic origin." Needless to mention that 'the eastern part of India, even when Aryanized, preserved considerable differences from the midlands in point of language, the ethnic elements and culture, and this undoubtedly explains the origin of the two heterodox sects in this very reason; the Sakya clan had Mongolian strain in their blood." (The Age of Imperial Unity, Pp 362-363) The practice of offering to Brahma in a fire-pit was therefore, slowly rejected by the Indians with preference to their earlier practices. As stated by Mr. Tagore, the Sena dynasty made efforts to introduce the Vedic way of Yajnahuti in the western part of Bengal. In North Bengal, particularly in the Bodo-Koch kingdom, the Brahmanic Yajna system got spread post Anglo-Koch Treaty of 1773 when Nripendra Narayana wed Sunitidevi, daughter of the great Brahma preacher Keshav Chandra Sen. It however failed to root in Bodo-Koch kingdom. It is evident that the Brahmanic system had ultimately bowed down and submitted to the religious practices followed by the Mongoloid people led by Lord Budha, Valmiki, Kousiki and Vasishta, the Bodo Saints.

The ancient Indian history mischievously maintains silence on the origin of the ancient Indian kings and their subjects. Silence maintained about the origin of Parvataka, the Maurya dynasty and/or Gupta dynasty in the Indian history speaks volumes by itself. None the less, there are evidences to bring out the truth and the truth has a habit of peeping out. One such revealing evidence is the confederation of ten ancient Janapadas with their Head Quarters at Vaishali formed by the people identified as the Moriyas @ Mauryas, the Sakyas, the Kolias, the Mallas, the Videhas, the Lichchavis and the Ikshakus for their common cause of self administration. One would agree that such a confederation would not have been possible at that remote past but for their commonness as regards their race, faith, culture and language. This would undoubtedly say, as it has been clarified in the Mahavamsa that the Mauryas, the Sakyas, the Kolias, the Mallas, the Videhas, the Lichchavis and the Ikshakus were of a common racial origin flowing from the Mongoloid stem. Famous historians including Dr. S. Chatterjee admit that Lord Buddha had a Mongolian strain in his blood. Emperor Ashoka of the Maurya dynasty has been identified as the Kirata king by Ashok Vyas in his book, 'Nepal Darshan'. Thus findings from the narrations and the statements of ancient literatures in this regard irresistibly lead us to only one conclusion that Yadavas, Pauravas and Suryavangshis were also the people of the Kirata-Mongoloid origin who claimed themselves as Aryanised in later years. The term 'Aryan' is derived from the Pali word 'Arhat' that connotes emancipated and/or liberated. The truth is that they were the progenitors of the present Bodos as well.

As regards the answer to the question as to why the origin of the ancient Indian kings was camouflaged, one would find as under. India began writing its ancient history under the patronage of the British scholars that too at the time when entire India came under the British rule. By then, Indians were physically subjugated and mentally bewithched by the British. The Indians already conceded supremacy to them in terms of knowledge and intelligence; and took to adorn the European civilization. This notion made the Indian people to think that the British civilization is superior to the civilization of any nation in the world including that of India and therefore, they fantasized to associate with them in respect of their origin, language, culture and civilization. This betraying notion prompted the Indians to introduce the theory of Aryan migration into India thereby trying to link the origin of the Indians to that of the Europeans. They made unceasing efforts to camouflage their own Mongoloid origin. Thank God! The theory of Aryan migration into India proved by now as a false theory. Even otherwise, the physical features of most of the Indians are now showing up to pronounce them as Mongoloids rather than Europeans. But then, the theory of Indo-Aryan language was also introduced to connect the Sanskrit to the English and other European languages. But the fact unearthed is that the Sanskrit is a language evolved from the Pali. John Keay in his book, 'India Discovered' has stated that the Devanagari which script is used for writing the Sanskrit evolved from the Gupta Brahmi Script. Before the Gupta Brahmi script was used in writing, India used to write in the Brahmi script during the period prior to the Gupta era. The Prakrit and the Pali were the languages spoken by the indigenous common mass of ancient India during Buddha's time till the era of Gupta dynasty, if not later. The Bodo as a language has a close affinity to the Pali, Prakrit, Sanskrit and the Apabhrangshas in terms of its phonology, roots,

forms and structures. Should the Sanskrit be accepted as the Indo-European language, the Pali and Prakrit must have to be accepted as Indo-European languages because the Sanskrit is only the tadbhaba language originating from the Pali and the Prakrit. The corollary is that then the Bodo would also form a part of the Indo-European language as the Bodo has a close affinity to the Pali and Prakrit. The History has now proved beyond doubt that India has been a melting point of the people entering into it from Central Asia and the people entering into India had been the Kiratas, the Khas, the Sakas, the Kushanas, the Hunas, the Turks, the Tungus and the Mongols all of them are of Mongoloid stem. Europeans followed them much later and then returned.

Rise of Rajputs

It is stated in history that after the death of Harshavardhana, Rajputs had risen to rule India till the Muslims came to the sub-continent. Indian history is more or less clear and distinct about the rule of the Rajputs. Harshavardhana is stated to have left no male heirs and on his death darkness shrouded India. Charles A. Kincaid has therefore said, "During the blackout a flood of central Asian warriors, Hunas, Gurjara and other, had swept over India and had been absorbed into Hinduism. They called themselves Rajputs or sons of kings and the Brahmana genealogists skillfully traced their origin to the various heroes of the Hindu epics. They agreed to their new genealogies, provided they were allowed to lead their lives as they wished and die gloriously in the field of battle. They regarded themselves as the appointed defenders of India and right well did their duty. In fact, they have profoundly influenced the course of Indian history down to the present day. Medieval and modern India, in fact, began with the emergence of the Rajput clans." While attempting to give the Hindu origin to the Rajputs, they invented the theory of Agnikula and to support the theory, the following incident was cited.

Parasurama destroyed all the Kshatriyas on land and India was again in need of Kshatriyas to protect India and/or the Hindus from the aggressions of the people from outside and/or non-Hindus. Therefore, with a view to generate Kshatriyas, a Yajna was once performed on the Mount Abu and out of the fire-pit (Agni-kunda) four heroes emerged representing four different Rajput clans – Chauhanas, Chalukyas, Paramaras and Pratiharas. On analyzing the incidences stated in the story about the Agnikula origin of Rajputs, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar observes, "Agnikula origin confirms that the Rajputs were of foreign origin and the fire-pit on Mount Abu is nothing but a purifying rite to remove the foreignness from them and thereby to absorb them into the Hindu fold. That the bulk of the Rajput stock came from outside cannot be disputed, because the very word Rajput was not heard before the seventh century AD which was a period when the waves of foreigners like the Sakas and the Hunas invaded India, and in medieval India we find the country saturated with the Rajputs. Initially they adopted Buddhism but before long they found its principles of ahimsa incompatible with their war-like spirit. State and religious supremacy were exchanged between the Rajputs and the Brahmanas. In order to glorify their masters, the court-bards of the various chiefs lost no time in connecting their genealogies with the ancient and mighty Kshatriya heroes like Rama and Krishna and gave them the glorious name of Rajputs, that is, kings' sons". Other Rajput dynasties are the Chandellas of Bundelkhand and the Kalchuries of Chedi. Sakas and Hunas are

identified as the warriors from Central Asia and they belong to the Scythian group of the Mongoloid stem. In other words, the Central Asian Mongoloids entering India following the Kirata waves got absorbed in the Hinduism in India.

After the Hunas' ingress into India, the religious scene in Central Asia in so far as it relates to the Mongoloids, changed and the Turks and the Mongols of Central Asia gradually embraced the Islam thereby joining the process of establishing a strong Islamic world. Around 1000 AD, the people entering India from Central Asia are therefore identified as the Muslim Turks and the Muslim Mongols and/or Mughals who snatched India from the Rajputs to rule it till the British destabilized them. But for their Islamic faith, the Turks and the Mongols entering India after the Hunas would have also surely assimilated with the Hindus to be absorbed in the Hinduism. This has been the bitter truth, yet while taking to write the Indian history at the instance of the British scholars these facts were willfully suppressed to give precedence to the mythical stories. The theory of Aryan migration into India was introduced to camouflage their own origin as they were enslaved both physically and mentally by the Europeans. The inferiority complex that got imbedded in the minds of the then Indian writers was to blame for eulogizing the mythical Aryans as akin to the Europeans. In the process, the Indian history has been corrupted beyond redemption.

Emergence of Kshatriyas in North-East India

Next to the Agnikula theory, one may look and examine the purports of the theory of Hiranyagarbha Mahadana that generated the Rajbangshikula. Buddhism in Bengal and Kamarupa lasted till the 12th century AD and then Bengal came under the Senas and Kamarupa known by then as Kamatapura, came under the Kamatapuris. Senas are believed to be ardent Hindus and so also the Kamatapuris who were none other than the Kiratas embracing the Hinduism in preference to the Buddhism. Muslims defeated the Senas and annexed Bengal to the Muslim dominion. Kamatapur was re-captured by the Meches of Haria Mech dynasty in the beginning of the 16th century AD. The Meches were practically lords of their respective regions till their dominions were annexed to British India. The Meches were however, not left far behind to embrace the Hinduism. After embracing the Hinduism, the Meches declared themselves as the progenies of mythological king Sahasrarjuna and pronounced themselves to be the Rajbangshis, the descendents of kings similar to the declarations made by the Rajputs. Kachari and Tripura kings followed the suit. On their assimilation with the Hindus, Kachari kings of Cachar preferred to trace their genealogy from Bhima, the third Pandava and the kings of Tripura were pleased to use surnames like Barma and/or Devabarma and then Manikya that is suited to the status of Kshatriyas as according to Manu, the father of the Hindus, the surname of the Kshatriyas should be 'Burman' or 'Barman'. The kings of Kamatapura, Tripura, Koch Behar and Cachar observed the rite of Hiranyagarbha Mahadana while joining the Hindu-stream and as stated above, the Rajputs observed the rite of Agnikula, the Yajna to declare themselves as the Hindu Kshatriyas. This has also been stated by E. A. Gait as he writes in Chapter I of his 'A History of Assam' to the effect that, "The ruler immediately preceding the first Pala king was named Tyaga Singh, who died without his heirs and who is described in the Ratna Pala's plates as an 'illustrious chief'. From the

absence of any indication to the contrary we may perhaps assume that he belonged to the family of Pralambha, which would have thus ruled the country for a period of about two hundred years. It is claimed by the scribes of this dynasty that they were descended from Naraka and Bhagadatta, but in the copper plates of the Pala kings, who in their turn put forward the same claim, they were referred to as Mlechchas or non-Hindus. The explanation doubtless is that both dynasties were of aboriginal origin and that when they rose to power, they were converted to Hinduism and fitted out with a noble ancestry by the Brahmanas, who have always been adepts in procuring for themselves protection, favour and power by inducing aboriginal chiefs to enter the fold of Hinduism on the fiction that they are descended from some god of the Hindu Pantheon or some potentate in Hindu mythology. In more recent times the Rajas of Rani and Dimarua have in their way been connected with the dynasty of Bhagadatta and the Koch, Kachari and Manipuri Rajas have also been provided by their priestly parasites with a divine or a heroic lineage." Further he writes, "As early as 1835 Pemberton found that members of Jayantia royal family were able in course of time to gain admission to the Kayasth and Vaidya castes and if these castes opened their portals to aborigines of high social position, other communities doubtless did the same. The Hindu priests confined their attention to the king and his chief nobles from whom alone they had anything to gain. They would convert them, admit the nobles to Kshatriya rank and invent for the king a noble descent using as will be seen the same materials over and over again and then enjoy as their reward lucrative posts at court and lands granted to them. ----- If the dynasty lasted long enough the influence of Hindu ideas would filter down to them and they would follow the examples of their betters as has certainly happened in the case of Ahoms." With the kings of the easternmost kingdoms of Manipur, Kachar and Tripura, joining the Hinduism, the process of converting all the indigenous people of India, irrespective of their origin, virtually got accomplished. Thereafter, the process of declaring the ancient temples spread from Assam to Pakistan was simultaneously initiated and fifty one temples including Kamakhya were linked to the Puranic Sati episode to rechristen them as the holy places of the Hindus.

Emergence of Kayasthas

On the other side, when the kingship was being exercised through out India, the court officials emerged as a formidable class and they aspired to have their own identification beyond the four Varnas of the Hindu society. In the process, the Kayasthas came to be created as a class. Regarding the origin of the Kayasthas the following story is very often recited;

Shree Chitraguptaji the Accountant of Yama, the king of Patala, married Devi Nandani and Devi Shobhavati and had twelve divine Sons. The twelve divine Sons are stated to have started the twelve main branches of Brahma Kayastha.

The 12 clans of Brahma Kayastha are as under:

- Mathur
- Gaur/Gour

- Bhatnagar
- Saxena
- Ambashtha
- Nigam
- Karna
- Kulshreshtha
- Srivastava or Shrivastava
- Surdhwaja
- Valmiki
- Asthana
- Khare

Sons of Devi Shobhavati Charu (Mathur): He was a disciple of sage Mathure. Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Charu to establish a Kingdom in the Mathara region (between Mahanadi and Krishna River in Orissa). His descendants were known as the Mathurs. After defeating the demons, a term regularly used for the anti-Vedic tribes, they established the Kingdom of Mathara. This done, they also propagated to form their region as the part of Aryavarta. In the meanwhile they were further divided into 3 sub-divisions (i) the Mathurs of Mathara, (ii) the Pancholi or Panchali of Panchala Kingdom with Mathara town in Garwhal hills and (iii) the Kacchi of Gujrat. The Mathurs are believed to enjoy a long history of ruling many Kingdoms including Ayodhya. Some stories tell about their rule in Ayodhya before the Raghuvanshis took its reign.

Sucharu (Gaur): He was a disciple of sage Vasishtha. Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Sucharu to establish a Kingdom in the Gaud region. Shree Sucharu married Devi Mandhiya, the daughter of Nagaraj Vasuki. The Gaurs are divided into five divisions: (i) Khare, (ii) Doosre, (iii) Bengali, (iv) Dehlavi and (v) Vadanyuni. Among the Gaur Kaysthas, Bhagdutta of Mahabharat and Rudradutta of Kalinga are famous.

Chitraksh (Bhatnagar): He was a disciple of sage Bhat. He is stated to have married Devi Bhadrakalini. Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Chitraksh to establish a kingdom in the region of Bhat River at Bhattdesh and Malwa. They are believed to have established Chittor and Chitrakoot. He settled there and his progeny came to be known as Bhatnagar.

Matimaan (Saxena): Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Matimaan to establish a Kingdom in the Shak region. His son was a great warrior and established a kingdom in the modern day Kabul-Kandahar and Eurasia region and as they were believed friends of Saka, their progenies are called Shaksena or Saksena. Today they are abundantly found in the regions of Kannuaj, Pilibhit, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Badayu, Farrukhabad, Etta, Mainpuri and Aligarh. According to RC Majumdar, they were kings Shena of Shakas hence Shakashena which is anglicised to Saxena.

Himvaan (Ambashth): He settled in Girnar and Kathiawar area called Amba-sthan, hence the name. Shree Himvaan had five divine sons; Shree Nagasen, Shree Gayasen, Shree Gayadatta, Shree Ratanmool and Shree Devdhar and they married

Gandharvyakanyas. These five Sons settled at different locations and accordingly their lineage spread their rule.

Chitracharu (Nigam): Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Chitracharu to establish a Kingdom in the Mahakoshal and the Nigam region (on the bank of river Saryu). His progenies are stated proficient in the rules laid in Vedas and the Shastras, hence Nigam. Today they live in Kanpur, Fatehpur, Hamirpur, Banda, Jalon and Mahoba.

Aruncharu (Karna): They were Vaishnavites. Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Aruncharu to establish a Kingdom in the Karna region (modern day Karnataka). His progenies slowly migrated to the Northern kingdoms and now live abundantly in the present day Nepal, Orissa and Bihar. The Bihar branch is further divided into two; namely the 'Gayaval Karna' who settled in Gaya and the 'Maithil-Karna' who settled in the Mithila region.

Jitendra (Kulshreshtha): Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Atiyendriya (also known as Jitendra) to establish a Kingdom in the Kannauj region. Shree Atiyendriya was one of the most religious and pious ascetic of the twelve Sons. He was known as 'Dharmatma' and 'Pundit' and was a master of passions; His progeny came to be known as Kulshrestha. Today the Kulshreshthas live abundantly in Mathura, Agra, Farookhabad, Etah, Etahwa and Mainpuri. A few are in Nandigaon.

Sons of Devi Nandani/Sudakhina

Shribhanu (Srivastava): Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Shribhanu to establish a Kingdom in the Shrivaas (Srinagar) region in Kashmir and Kandahar. He was married to Nagaraj Vaasuki's daughter Devi Padmini and two divine sons named Shree Devdatta and Shree Ghanshyam were born. Shree Devdatta got the throne of Kashmir and Shree Ganshyam took to ruler over the banks of Sindhu River. They were called Srivastava 'Khare' born from second wife Kheri. Two divine sons named Shree Dhanvantari and Shree Sarvagya were born. They were called Srivastava 'Doosre'.

Vibhanu (Suryadhwaj): Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Vibhanu to establish the Kingdom in northern parts of the Kashmir region. Since Mother Dakshina was the daughter of Suryadev, the progeny of Shree Vibhanu carried the emblem of the Sun God on their flags and were called Suryadhwaj. Jarasandha of Mahabharat and Jamnaya of Taxila were well known. Later they settled at Magadh.

Vishwabhanu (Valmiki): Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Vishwabhanu to establish a Kingdom in Valmiki region near Chitrakoot and Narmada. Shree Vishwabhanu was married to Nagakanya Devi Bimbvati. He is known to have spent a great part of his life practicing intense meditation (Tapasya) on the banks of river Narmada, when covered with the leaves of creeper Valmiki. His progenies were known as Valmiki. They became Vallabhpanthi. His son Shree Chandrakant settled in Gujarat while the other sons migrated with their families to the North, near the Ganges and the Himalayas. Today they live in Gujarat and Maharashtra. They are also known as 'Vallabhi Kayastha' in Gujarat.

Viryabhanu (Asthana): Maharaj Chitraguptji sent Shree Viryabhanu to establish a kingdom in Adhisthana. His progeny came to be known as Asthana as Ramnagar-Varanasi's king bestowed them with eight jewels. Some say that they had no fixed sthan, hence the name. Today the Asthanas live abundantly in various districts of U.P. In Bihar they live in Saran, Sivaan, Champaran, Mujjafarpur, Sitamadhi, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur regions. Their population is also notable in some parts of M.P.

Should one read the story carefully, he would find glaring infirmities in the statements made in the story. The person who had originated the story exposes himself that he has little respect for the epical eras and the historical facts. Chitragupta's son Charu is stated to have ruled Ayodhya before Raghuvangshis while Aruncharu, a Vaishnavite is stated to have established his kingdom in Karnataka. The Vaishnavism was evidently non-existent in pre-Ramayana ancient India. The purported sons of Chitragupta are stated to have ruled in the ages of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the medieval period which is impracticable and/or absurd. Then again, none of the twelve characters mentioned in the story finds a place in the Indian history. On the other hand, history reveals us that Bhagadutta, stated to be one of the progenies of Sucharu; Jarasandha, one of the progenies of Vibhanu; Valmiki, Vasishta and Sakas are admittedly of the Mongoloid race and these Mongoloids ruled India and/or were living during the period post Indus Valley civilization if not earlier. Further, Vishnu Purana reveals us about the origin of Bhagadutta. He is stated to be the son of Narakasura, the king of Pragjyotishpura and Narakasura was the son of Vishnu and Bhumi. Jarasandha nourished rivalry against the people belonging to Chandra Vangsha and was opposed to Aryanisation. Valmiki identified himself as a Kirata, while Sakas are Scythians of the Mongoloid stem. Himavan's sons are stated to have married Gandharvas who have been identified as the Kiratas. Should the story is believed to be true, it would have to be admitted that Chitragupta himself might have belonged to the Mongoloid race and his Kayastha descendents were none other than the Mongoloids who accepted the Hinduism after the Buddhism took to wane away from India. In short, it is evident that the people of the same racial origin got divided into two sects, one sect of those who proclaimed themselves as Aryanized and/or civilized and another of those who remained as they were.

As regards the origin of the Kayasthas of Bengal, one may read the story about them as told by Shri Sourindra Mohun Tagore in "The Caste System of the Hindus". It says, "During the reign of Adisura, a Vaidya King of Bengal, the celebration of a Yajna (sacrifice) became necessary owing to a drought, but there having been at that time no Brahmana so learned as to perform it, Adisura requested Virsinha, the King of Kanya Kubjya (Conouj), to send him some Brahmanas versed in the Veda and competent to perform the intended Yajna. Five Brahmanas were accordingly sent and they were:-

1. Bhattanarayana [The Tagore family is stated to have sprung from Bhatta-narayan] who was said to be of Sandilya Gotra, being descended from the sage Sandilya;

2. Sriharsha of Bharadwaja Gotra from the sage Bharadwaja;

3. Vedagarva of Sawarna Gotra from the sage Sawarna;

4. Chhandara of Vatsya Gotra from the sage Vatsya; and

5. Daksha of Kasyapa Gotra from the sage Kasypa.

These five Brahmanas are stated to have brought five Kayastha servants with them, viz.: 1. Makaranda Ghosh; 2. Kali Dasa Mitra; 3. Dasaratha Guha; 4. Dasartha Basu and 5. Purushottama Datta. These five Brahmanas as well as their servants the five Kayasthas were afterwards honored as the Kulinas of Bengal. Of these, those who lived in the Barendra land of North Bengal were called the Barendra Brahmanas and those who lived in West Bengal were called Rarhi Brahmanas. Those who are not Kulinas among the Rarhis are called Banysagas and among the Barendras are called Kafs. Although the Barendra and the Rarhis have sprung from the same origin, still owing to their living in different localities, they cannot socially mix with each other, e.g. marriage cannot take place between a Barendra and a Rarhi; a Rarhi did not take food cooked by a Barendra and so forth.

Then again, Shyamal Varma, a Kshatriya King is stated to have brought five Brahmanas from Konouj, viz, Sanaka, Bhardwaja, Savarna, Sandilya and Vasistha many years after Adisura. They are stated to have settled in five villages which were;

1. Samahtasar in Furreedpur;

2. Navadwip in Nuddea;

3. Chandradwip in Backergunj;

4. Kotaliparah in Furreedpur and

5. Joyari in Rajshahi.

The descendants of these Brahmanas are called the Vaidik Brahmanas. They are divdided into two classes, viz, Paschatya, i.e. those who lived in West Bengal; and Dakshinatya, i.e. those who lived in South Bengal. Those two classes of the Vaidiks cannot socially mix with each other. There is no system of Kulinism among the Vaidiks.

The above mentioned Kulina families lived in 56 different villages. They were therefore called Chhappanna Grami (i.e. of 56 villages). The word Grami has been corrupted into Gai." (P.18)

The stories of Yama Samhita, the statements made by Mr. Tagore and Mr. Varma are contradictory to each other and are liable to be rejected as not only they lack evidentiary value but are destructive to each other. Besides, the name of Adisura does not appear in history either. As stated by Mr. Tagore in his said writing, people forming eighty five percent of the Bengalis are indigenous ancient people who were initially not the Hindus.

By introducing the story of Adisura and of the Kshatriya king, attempts were made to spread the Vedic practice of Yajnahuti to Bengal which however, has miserably failed.

Then again in Assam, certain section of the people forming a Kalita clan, tend to claim that they are pre-Aryan Alpine people. In modern Assam, according to them, they form a section of the Kayasthas of Assam. Now, let us examine the true interpretation of their claim. While identifying the Alpine people of Asia, David M. Waterhouse has stated, "On the ab-origins of sub-Himalayas, he (Brian Hughton Hodgson) gives a concise overview of the ethnic groups in the Central Himalayas. Apart from Khas-speaking parbatiya castes he lists ten races (Bhotia, Sunwar, Magar, Gurung, Murmi, Newar, Kiranti, Limbu, Lepcha and Bhutanese) which are termed the principal Alpine tribes of sub-Himalayas, or the Alpine Indian origin." (The origin of Himalayan Studies: Brian Hughton Hodgson in Nepal, P.214 – by David M. Waterhouse) The Bodos are admittedly descendants of the ancient Kiratas. As Kalitas claim to be the progenies of the Alpine people and that Kiratas including the Bodos do form part of the Alpine People, they would undoubtedly form the group of people belonging to the Mongoloid stem and they are directly related to the Kirata-Bodos.

"In Assam, the Kocches are divided into Kamthali and Madai or Shara, and Kholta or Kalita, and in Rungpur, Rajbangshis or Kocch. Their priests were Deoshis, their next Kalita or Kholta and their last, the Brahmins or Mullahs." (Essays the first: On the Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal, P.145 – by Brian Hughton Hodgson) Brian Hughton Hodgson has identified the Kocch people as the cognates of the Kaccharis as he writes, "The Kaccharis and Kocch of Assam valley, are Tamulians, as is proved beyond a doubt by their physical attributes, and despite of that Bengali disguise of speech and customs, which has misled superficial observers." (Ibid – page 141) With their methamorphosis as the Kalitas, the priests of the Kocches had abandoned their identification as Deoshis of Koch sub-group. The same Deoshis donned the garments of the Brahmins when the Brahminic Hinduism reached them. In Bangladesh, they preferred to be identified as the Mullahs when they embraced the Islam during Muslim rule. However, Deoshis are still available in the Bodo society to offer their services for worship. Thus it is abundantly loud and clear that the Kalitas are none other than the cognates of the modern Bodos. Their claim of being Kayasthas also links them to Bhagadatta, the Bhauma-Bodo king of Pragjyotishpura for reasons among others, that Yama Samhita declares all the Kayasthas of Bengal, Assam and Bangladesh as the progenies of Bhagadatta, the Bodo king.

Social Evolution in Bengal and Kamarupa

In this context, we may have a relook at the ancient history of Kamarupa and Bengal. Before the Smritis, Shrutis, Epics and the Puranas were composed, there were already persons offering to serve the purposes of religion including performing religious rites in the name of gods and goddesses in all the groups of people. Religion is not confined to the Brahminic society as is being depicted by the so called Aryans. In fact, it evolved in every society whether it was a rural society and/or urban society including the societies of the tribes. When the entire northern region of India was following the Buddhism, the Bodos living in Bihar, Bengal and Kamarupa were practicing the original form of the

Hinduism and/or polytheism in their own ways with priests and religious teachers of their own. When the self styled Aryanized people were busy in following the practice of performing Yajnahuti in the name of Brahma in their midland, the eastern Mongoloids were proud to worship Vishnu and Shiva. Therefore, Hiuen-Tsang found the Bodos of Kamarupa and Bengal as the ardent followers of Siva (the Burha Bathou). They worshiped Him through the instrumentality of a Deoshi (Pujari) or a Priest.

A Bodo Deoshi or Priest is required to be well versed in the procedures of worship and offerings to gods. He is to follow a good moral conduct and during pujas, he has to clad in clean white and invariably has to observe fasting. In all the major pujas, offerings are made through him with the assistance of the Deoris. These Priests and Deoris commanded royal support, enjoyed respect among the mass and secured the status of the Bamans (Brahmins) in their own merrits. The Bodo kings officially engaged them in the religious activities including the services in the temples. Bodos called them 'Baman' (Bamwn) as they possessed expertise in offering 'five objects' to gods. In the Bodo, 'Ba' means five and 'Man' or 'Mwn' signifies objects. The practice of offering five objects to god has been recognized as the practice of 'Bamachar' in the Hinduism. The Bodos participating in a puja are also required to clad in clean clothes. Hence, it would not be surprising when Hiuen-Tsang stated that Bhaskar Barma, the king of Kamarupa used to dress in perfect white while participating in religious celebrations. He was a follower of Lord Shiva, despite he attended the Buddhist conference organized by King Harshavardhana, clad in pure white which made him look like Lord Brahma of the Hindus. It was because of the attire of Bhaskar Barma which made the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang call Bhaskar Barma, the Bodo king of Kamarupa as Brahma. In later years, the Deoshis deployed by the kings and their offspring got entirely subsumed in the Hinduism and proclaimed themselves as the Brahmanas under the Hindu Varna system. They generated royal documents to proclaim them as the Brahmanas. Majority of the Brahmins in Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Tripura were the Deoshis and Douris belonging to the Bodo stem.

It may be appropriate to recite here the statements made by Mr. Nagendra Nath Basu with reference to the Brahmanas of Kamarupa and/or Bengal to whom King Bhaskar Barma is stated to have made land grants in the Nidhanpur Copper Plate. Mr. Basu writes in his book, 'The Social History of Kamarupa' among others, as follows;

"We may conclude that the prosperous condition of Kamarapa of which the Chinese pilgrim has drawn such a brilliant picture had been in existence long before the time of his visit. We find in the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription of Bhaskaravarma that during the reign of Mahabhutivarma or Bhutivarma, Rigvedi, Yajurvedi, Samavedi and Atharvavedi Brahmanas of various denominations lived in the Agrahara of Mayarsalmala which was granted by him in their favour and the place was situated in his territory called Chandrapuri. The number of these Brahmanas, deeply versed in the Vedas, who were thus settled by King Mahabhutivarma was not small. There is no doubt that they were called for the purpose of disseminating the knowledge of the Sastras. In the Agrahara mentioned above they lived for generations. When in course of time the original copper-plate was destroyed the officers of the State proceeded to levy taxes on the lands.

Thereupon the descendants of the grantees came to Karnasuvarna and explained their case to Maharaja Jyeshtha Bhadra, who was the officer-in-charge there. The new copper-plate which was issued by Bhaskara Varma at the request of Maharaja Jyeshtha Bhadra has been discovered at Nidhanpur in the district of Sylhet. This is known as the Nidhanpur copper plate of Bhaskaravarma. In the first volume of this work, the English translation of a portion of the text relating to the royal dynasty has been published. I have not dealt there with the portion of the text in which there is a description of the various classes of Brahmanas who received the grants. But as a matter of fact this is the most important section of the inscription as it throws a flood of light on the problems connected with the history of castes and sects in Eastern India. As I consider this to be very important I have reproduced in Appendix A to Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharjya's reading of the text. Most of the surnames held by Brahmanas belonging to the various gotras and schools of Vedas which are mentioned in the Nidhanpur plate recur in the copper-plate inscription of Maharaja Lokanatha of the seventh century. ------ The date of the grant is stated to have been in the 44th year (1. 29.) which we have taken to refer to the Harsha era, i. e. as corresponding, therefore, to 650 A. D., only two years after the death of the Emperor Harsha. In the copper plate grant of king Valavarma of Kamarupa there is reference to a section of Bhauma Brahmins belonging to the Kanvasakha with the surnames Dhara and of Kapila gotra. Next, mention may be made of the two copper plate grants of king Ratnapala of Kamarupa one of which shows the existence of a group of Kanvasakha Brahmin called Ahitagni Datta of the Parasara gotra and the other gives a different group, having the surname and with the gotra, Bharadwvaja, also as a Kanvasakha. The Gauhati copperplate grant of Indrapala gives us the name of another group of Yajurvedi Brahmins, whose surname was Pala. In the Guakuchi copper-plate of the said Indrapala mention is made of another group of Yajurvedi Kanva Brahmans of the Kasyapa gotra with the surname Deva who being the donee, speaks of one Vasu also as owner of an adjoining plot. The copper plate grant of Dandi Mahadevi issued from Ganjam also mentions the Ghosha family belonging to Visvamitra gotra. --- The following is a list in alphabetical order, of the hereditary surnames as found in the charters of the ancient Bhauma kings of Kamrup, Bengal and Orissa:

Anchala, Adbhuta, Anda, Arjuna, Idhaka, Idhya, Indra, Isvara, Kara, Kirti, Kunda, Kula, Kenu, Konta, Khadga, Khalisa, Gana, Ganda, Guna, Gupta, Gopa, Gauna, Ghosha, Chakra, Chandra, Chara, Tosha, Trata, Datta, Dama, Dasa, Dugdha, Deva, Dikshita, Droha, Dhara, Dhiti, Nanda, Nandi, Naga, Nagadatta, Pana, Pati, Pala, Palita, Bhata, Bhatta, Bhatti, Bhati, Bhadra, Mitra, Rakshita, Ratha, Rata, Rudra, Lakshaya, Varisha, Vardhana, Vasu, Vijaya, Vidagdha, Vilamva, Vishnu, Viiddhi, Sarma, Sala, Siva, Subha, Solri, Soka, Sena, Soma. Though at a time, large numbers of Brahmins holding such surnames were in existence in Pragjyotisha, Gauda and Kalinga, no traces of them have now been found in Eastern India."

The statements appearing in the book of Mr. Nagendra Nath Basu that during the age of the Kamarupa Barmas, there were Vedic Brahmanas in Kamarupa and Bengal is liable to be rejected for reasons amongst others, the Brahminic or the Vedic way of worship penetrated into Bengal only in or about 1158 AD, during the rule of Vallalasena. Secondly, when the Bodo Barma kings of Bhauma dynasty were ruling Kamarupa, entire

Northern India was following the Buddhism. The Nidhanpur inscriptions are in Sylheti Nagari Script. It is gathered from the history of Bengali literature that writing in ancient Bengal began only during the reign of the Palas. In fact, Nagari script emerged during the post Gupta period when the Brahmi script was modified to write the Sanskrit. With the emergence of Apabhramsas Nagari scripts were adapted in writing the regional Apabhramsas. The Sylheti Nagari was the product of such adaptations made by the Pala rulers. Then again, if Mitras, Guhas, Vasus, Dattas and Ghosas were brought from Kanauj to Bengal only in the second half of the twelfth century AD by the Sena kings, how could there be these people living in Sylhet in the beginning of the sixth century AD that too as the Brahmins? Ghosha, Vasu, Mitra and Datta are stated in the Yama Samhita, to be non-Brahmin Kayasthas who are linked to the Bodo king Bhagadatta of Pragjyotishpura. The inscription also mentions, Palas being the Brahmins were also the beneficiaries among other beneficiaries of the king's gift. Palas and Khargas were of Mongoloid group, while the Palas are stated to be the descendants of Bhagadatta. All these statements would lead to an irresistible conclusion that the Nidhanpur copper Plate is nothing but the product of faking. The statements appearing in the following do also speak against the story of Mr.Basu.

(a) the stories depicted in the Epics,
(b) the stories told in the Puranas,
(c) the statements appearing in the Buddhist and the Jaina literatures,
(d) the ancient history of Bengal and Kamarupa,
(e) the narrations of the Muslim writers and
(f) the writings of the modern scholars.

In Chapter 16, Sabha Parva of the Mahabharata one would find the following narration about the king of Pragjyotish Pura.

'Bhagadatta the king of Pragjyotish Pura was a friend of Shantanu, the grand father of king Yudhishtira. In his previous birth, he was Baskal an Asur. Bhagadatta was a powerful, mighty and far cited king. The soldiers of Pragjyotish Pura were Kiratas and Chinas. These soldiers guarded Pragjyotishpura day and night stationed themselves on the sea shores. King Bhagadatta was as powerful as Indra and in fact, maintained friendship with Indra, the king of gods. Bhagadatta used to fight from the back of elephant. The name of his elephant was Supratik. Bhagadatta's army possessed innumerable elephants. He participated the Kurukshetra war with one crore soldiers in favour of the Kauravas.'

A. L. Basham opines that "in the present form of Puranas, they are not very ancient, none going back earlier than Gupta period." (Wonder that was India, Pp.301-302) Many writers place them between the seventh century AD and the tenth entury AD. Some of the Upapuranas might have been composed after the tenth century AD. None the less, the history of Assam and Bengal including the present Bangladesh is very clear from the age of Narakasura. Narakasura the eatrliest Bodo king of Pragjyotishpura is mentioned in Chapter 29 of the Vishnu Purana in the following manner.

Bhaumayang Naraka Namo Pragjyotishpureshwara:

Karoti Sarvo Bhutanammupadhatamarindam:

(The son of the Earth Naraka is the king of Pragjyotishpura. He has been oppressing the people on this earth.)

Devasiddhasuradinang Nripanang Cha Janardana:
Hatva Tu Asuro Kanya Rurudhe Nijamandire:

(He has kidnapped many princesses, gods and Asuras and captivated them in his capital.)

Chhatrang Yatsalilastravi Tajjahara Prachetaso:
Mandarasya Tatha Shringa Hutavanmaniparvatam:

(He has snatched the umbrella from Varuna and taken away the pearls of Mandara from the gods.)

Amritastravinih Ditye Manmatu Krishna Kundale:
Johar So Asura Aditya Vanchhatyeiravatang Gajamo:

(He has stolen the ear ring of Aditi the mother of Indra. He has been contemplating to possess the elephant of Indra.)

The gods complained to Shri Krishna against Narakasura as above and appealed to Him for killing Narakasura. Shri Krishna accepted the appeal of the gods. He came to Pragjyotishpura and killed Narakasura. When Shri Krishna killed Narakasura, the Earth appeared before Him and said the following.

Yadahamuddhata Natha Tvaya Sukaramurtina:
Tvata Sparshasambhavo Putrastadayang Mayyajayata:

(O Lord! When you saved me (the Earth) from the sea in your incarnation as the Boar, I conceived your Child. Naraka is your child born of me.)

The citations appearing in the Vishnu Purana suggest to us among others that the Bodos including their kings were totemic non-Aryan therefore, they were found to have alienated themselves with the nature and the earth. A large section of the modern Bodos does claim to be the progenies of mother Earth and they display their claim by writing ‘Basumatary’ or ‘Bwiswmuthiary’ as their surname. Since Narakasura is believed to have born from the Earth, the Bhumi, his dynasty has been identified as the Bhauma dynasty. In other parts of Kirata countries, the Videhans are also believed to have originated from the Bhumi. Observing the commonality in their beliefs as regards to their origin, many historians are of the view that the Bodos and the people of the ancient Videha and Ayodhya were of the same racial origin. This fact reinforces the relationship of the Bodos with the participants of the Confederate of ten Janapadas of ancient India. Hence, the theory that the Kiratas spread from Himachal Pradesh to the extremities of Assam stands substanciated.

We may now go through the childhood days of Narakasura for a reference to the cultural and racial relationships among Pragjyotishpura, Videha and Mithila. The Purana has given an account to the effect that the Mother Earth, on giving birth to Narakasura, put him in a human skull and left him at a place of worship in the Videhan capital. The king Janaka found the child and brought him up along with other princes. The Earth wanted her son to grow up and as such came to the Videhan capital in disguise as Katyayani to act as the governess of Narakasura. Under her care, Narakasura grew up. Narakusara possessed extraordinary prowess and intelligence. He easily surpassed all other princes in all qualities and activities. This frightened the royal family of Videha as Naraka might one day usurp the throne of Videha. They conspired to get rid of Narakasura. Katyayani over heard the conspiracy of the Videhan royal family and one day, stealthily took away Naraka from the Videhan capital to the banks of the Ganges near Allahabad. Lord Vishnu was there at that time and the Earth handed Narakasura over to Him after narrating the developments at the Videhan capital. Lord Vishnu brought him up on the banks of the Ganges. Narakasura grew up under the care of Lord Vishnu and became almighty befitting to a king. Lord Vishnu took him to Pragjyotishpura and installed him as the king of Pragjyotishpura after eliminating the Asura kings of Mairong or Mahiranga dynasty. Narakasura was blessed with Vishnu-Ashtra and as such he was invincible by men and gods. He extended his kingdom up to the sea on the South and up to Nepal on the North. Narakasura is believed to have been succeeded by fifteen kings of his dynasty.

Then again, as mentioned above, Lord Buddha, the Kirata saint is stated to be the progenitor of the clans including Pauravas and Yadus. He is one of ten incarnations of Lord Vishnu. Lord Krishna is accepted as the God incarnate in Yadu clan, while Dushyanta, Bharata and the Pandavas are believed to be Pauravas. The ancient Mongoloid civilization of India was thus restructured to give way to the present Hindu society. David Frawley has therefore, rightly said, "Current archaeological data do not support the existence of an Indo Aryan or European invasion into South Asia any time in the prehistoric period. Instead, it is possible to document archaeologically a series cultural changes reflecting indigenous cultural development from prehistoric to historic periods. The early Vedic literatures describe not a human invasion into the area, but a fundamental restructuring of indigenous society. The Indo-Aryan invasion as academic concept in the 18th and 19th century Europe reflected the cultural milieu of the period. Linguistic data were used to validate the concept that in turn was used to interpret archaeological and anthropological data. In other words, Vedic literature was interpreted on the assumption that there was an Aryan invasion. The archaeological evidence was interpreted by the same assumption. And both interpretations were then used to justify each other. It is nothing but a tautology, an exercise in circular thinking that only proves that if assuming something is true, it is found to be true."

Regarding the Nidhanpur Copper Plate, the following has been stated by Amar Nath Roy in his Book, 'Notes on some Sanskrit and Persian Inscriptions of Sylhet', "The last sheet of this inscription is not yet been recovered. It appears from the Nidhanpur plate that one Manoratha Svami, a Brahman, of the Katyayana gotra and attached to the Chandoga Veda was the pattakapati or the custodian of the Plates. There are several Brahmana

families in almost every sub-division of the district bearing the gotra of Katyayana, and it is said that Brahmanas of this gotra are not to be found anywhere else in Bengal. The Copper Plate is in Sylheti Nagri and is different from Devanagari." The statement of Mr. Roy, if accepted, would mean that the Nidhanpur copperplate is a product of faking for reasons, among others, that Nagari script was in use during the period post Gupta age. As stated by Mr. Kosambi, "Finally, such grants had become lucrative enough to forge. Forgeries have actually been found among the copper plates hitherto brought to light. Enterprising Brahmins could and sometimes did employ their knowledge of Sanskrit profitably for direct falsification of a charter. Other known forgeries are a charter of Samudragupta of Taralasvamin, the Kaira plates of Vijayraja." (An Introduction to the Study of Indian History, P.322) The Nagari script was first used in Bengal and Kamarupa at a much later stage and it was not in use during the time of Bodo Barma kings of Kamarupa. Therefore, it is highly likely that the enterprising Bodo priests of Bengal and Kamarupa used their knowledge of Nagari for forging the copper plates including the Nidhanpur Copper plate for their personal gains in terms of acquiring the status of Brahmins as also for enjoying land free from tax liability. The statement of Mr. Kosambi is quite relvent in this regard when he says that "Some trival priests were also metamorphosed into Brahmins during the process." (An Introduction to the Study of Indian History, P.318)

Therefore, it is irrestible that the Brahmanas mentioned in the Land Grants of the Bodo Barma kings including the Nidhanpur Copper Plate were none other than the indigenous people of Bengal (then Kamarupa) belonging to the Bodo stem.

Buddhist Literatures of Bengal and Kamarupa

To continue with the discussion, the narrations appearing in the Buddhist and Jaina literatures may now be mentioned. In ancient Buddhist and Jaina literatures, the indigenous people of Bengal are described as Dasyus. If this was the status of the people of the then Bengal and Kamarupa, how could then the people of the Bhauma-Barma kingdom be called Vaidic Brahmanas as has been told by Nagendra Nath Basu? Since the Brahmanic Hinduism spread to Bengal only during the reign of the Senas, it would be fallacious to hold that there were Vaidic Brahmins in Kamarupa during the rule of the Bhauma kings. The Bhauma kings had their own priests and/or Deoshis for purposes, among others, performing pujas in the name of their Kula-Devatas and/or other religious rites. The Palas of Kamarupa and Bengal were then ardent followers of the Buddhism who not only followed the Buddhist canons but also contributed to the development of the Vajrayana Buddhism. Vajrayana the third Buddhist philosophy is believed to have sprung up in the Eastern India during the rule of Pala kings. In 'The Indian Buddhist Iconography', Benoytosh Bhattacharya has recorded the following on the Vajrayana.

"Vajrayana included in its purview all varieties of attractive tenets, notions, dogmas, theories, rites and practices, and incorporated all that was best in Buddhism and it attained great fame and popularity.

In the Sadhanamala are mentioned the four Pithas or sacred spots of the Vajrayanists, namely, Kamakhya, Srihatta, Purnagiri and Uddiayana. The Tibetan Authorities are of the opinion that the Tantric Buddhism originated from Uddiyana. The location of Uddiyana is important for the history of the Buddhist Tantric literature. Sadhanamala is dated 1165 AD. Uddiyana is connected with the Sadhana of Kurukalla, Trailokyavasankara, Marici and Vajrayogin.

Uddiyana being one of the four Pithas sacred to Vajrayogin should be at least near Kamakhya (Kamarupa) and Srihatta (Sylhet) and it is not unusual that all these four Pithas received their sanctity from temples dedicated to Vajrayogin. Thus Uddiyana has to be located in Eastern and Assam area. In medieval period when Tantras flourished, Vanga and Samatata were two important centres of culture in Bengal. Vanga included present Dacca, Faridpur and Backergunj districts, while Samatata comprised the present Sylhet, Chittagong, Tipperah and Mymonsing districts.

In Vanga and Samatata region, Vikrampur in Dacca district was important place. Imperial charters were issued from this place. There was a great Buddhist monastery here in the region of the Chandras and Senas. Atisa Dipankara, famous in Tibetan history as a great scholar and master of Tantric lore, is said to belong to the royal family of Vikrampura. Vikrampura is recognized even to-day as the foremost place of culture in East Bengal. In this Vikrampura Pargana there is a well populated village now known as 'Vajrayogini'. Round about this village, Vajrayana images have been discovered and among them may be noticed images of Jambhala, Parnasabana, Vajrasvatta and Tara. The term 'Vajra' in Vajrayogin is also familiar Buddhist word. Vajra is equivalent to Shunya. Vajrayogini is a Buddhist deity which the Hindus borrowed in the form of 'Chinnamasta'. The village thus must have derived its name from the temple of Vajrayogini which was in existence in early times. Thus it becomes evident that the present village Vajrayogini was originally known as Uddiyana but as the original deity Vajrayogin became more popular later, the original name dis-appeared giving place to the name of the deity." This abundantly proves that till the end of Pala rule, Bengal had no Aryan influence. To the contrary, the Buddhism was deeply influenced by the ways and practices of the Bodo worship.

Khadgas

In this context, the Khadgas of Bengal may be mentioned. The actual identity of the Khadgas has not been disclosed in the Indian history. The Chinese record tells us that the Khadgas ruled over eastern Bengal and a considerable portion of southern and central Bengal in the later half of the seventh century AD. Khadgadyama, Jathakhadga, Devakhadga and Rajarajabhata were the four known kings of the Khadga dynasty. (A History of Ancient India, P.372- by Arun Bhattacharjee) Poet Haribhadra, who was a contemporary of the second Pala king Dharmapala, suggests that the Palas belonged to the Khardga dynasty of eastern Bengal (Ibid-P.373). There are a good number of evidences that say and establish that the Khadgas were also of the Bodo stem of which the following may be cited instantly.

“The copperplate inscrtiptions at Asarfpore in Dacca and Deulbari, Commilla have thrown some light on the history of Kharga dynasty. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has suggested that Khargas came from Tibet and Nepal to East Bengal in the wake of the political turmoil that followed the death of Harsha. (Harsha died in 647A.D.) From the Chinese evidence it appears that the Kharga dynasty ruled in the later half of the seveth century AD over East Bengal, Southern and Central Bengal. The names of four kings of the Kharga family are Khadgadyama, Jatakhadga, Devakhadga and Rajarajabhata.

The copper inscriptions of Deva Khadga were issued from his camp at Karmantavasaka. Karmantavasaka is identified with Bara Kamata in Tippera district. Khadgas were Buddhist kings. Jatakhadga’s chief queen was Prabhavati who caused the image of goddess Sarvani (Durga) to be decorated with gold plates.” (Studies in Ancient India, Pp.527-528 – by Prabhatansu Maiti) In other words, the Bodos continued to be the masters of Bengal during the period post Harshavardhana.

Tabaqat-I-Nasiri

After the Senas were dethroned, during the year 1205-1206 AD, Muhammad Bin-Bakhthiyar marched towards Tibet and China through Rongpur and Dinajpur. The march was intended to invade Tibet and China. Muslim writer Minhaj Uddin recorded details about the Muslim expedition. While passing through Rongpur and Dinajpur, Muslims defeated the local Mech Bodo people of the area and forced them to embrace Islam. One Mech leader expert in warfare was also converted to Muslim and was offered to lead the Muslim army. He is stated to have led the Muslim army through the places lying on the bank of the Tista River for about sixteen days. The king of Jalpaiguri known as Jalpesh opposed the Muslims and a fierce fight between the armies of Jalpesh and Bin-Bakhthiar ensued. Jalpesh is stated to have destroyed the Muslim army. In the process, the Muslim dream of invading Tibet and China was abandoned for ever. While narrating about the people living in Rongpur, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri, Minhaj Uddin has stated that Mech, Koch and Tharus were the residents of the region. Their face, body and color were similar to those of the attacking Turko Mongoloids. They spoke different to those of western Indians. The way they opposed and defeated the Turko Mongoloid army under Bin-Bakhthiar would exhibit the fact that they had been settling in the region for sufficiently long period. This statement testifies beyond any doubt that the Tharus, the Meches (Bodo) and the Koch people were of the Kirata race who predominantly settled in the present Bangladesh and North Bengal in the beginning of the thirteenth century. They were yet to come within the Aryan fold. They no doubt embraced Brahmanic Hinduism during the reign of Kamatapuri kings and the Coch Behar kings.

Sultan Giyasuddin Ajamshah

After the attack of Bin-Bakhthiyar on North Bengal, Sultan Giyasuddin Ajamshah invaded Kamarupa during the year 1321-1322 AD. The records on the invasion testify that the strong army of Boros repelled the attack of Ajamshah who had to retreat to Bengal. It is therefore, abundantly clear that during the beginning of the fourteenth

century also the Boros were the occupants of Kamarupa, some parts of the present Bangladesh and North Bengal.

Sikander Shah

In 1362 AD, Sikander Shah of Bengal attacked Kamarupa and Kamatapura. As recorded in the history, the army of Mech Bodos strongly opposed the Muslim army this time also. Thus we are able to say convincingly that the Bodos were the people living in this region during the later half of the fourteenth century. We have no record to rebut and demolish this established fact. To the contrary, we have the Gezetteers of the British India to support the said statements. The British Government while completing the first census in 1871-72, recorded that similar to Kamarupa and Nowgong, Rongpur was predominantly inhabitated by the Boro-Kacharis.

Kamatapur

A dynasty of considerable power Khen or Khan Dynasty established itself at Kamatapur. The Khens are Indo-Mongoloid in their family. While going to the root of the term 'Khen' or 'Khan', one would find that it is a Kirata word meaning a 'king'. The Tharu Kiratas called their king as 'Khan'. This has been confirmed by I. S. Chemjong in his book, 'the History of Kirata People'. In the beginning of the fifteenth century Neeladhwaj, a Tharu chief established the kingdom of his dynasty in Kamatapur with his capital at Dharli. He was a pro-Hindu as he embraced the Hinduism. After embracing the Hinduism, he issued directives to all the Tharus of Kamatapur to embrace Hinduism as it was proclaimed to be the religion of the kingdom. Tharus embraced Hinduism and renounced their language for Bhojpuri and Maithili. Neeladhwaj was succeeded by his son Chakradhwaj who was killed by Hussain Shah, the Muslim Ruler of Bengal. In their Vangshavali, Tharus and the Danwars of the North Nepal are stated to belong to a common race. Danwars are still living as the pure Kiratas in Nepal. This also supports that Tharus and Kamatapuris are of Kirata race.

Koches

After the rule of Khen dynasty, the Koch and the Mech kings ruled over Kamarupa and Coch Behar. When the rule of Tharu kings came to an end, there appeared a Koch king in the Dinajpur district of North Bengal in 1416 – 1418 AD, as stated by I. S. Chemjong. The writer points out that 'the name of the Koch king was Danuj Mardana Deva. He proclaimed himself as the Hindu king. He extended his kingdom from Dinajpur to Dacca and had engraved his name in his coins by the name of Danuj Mardana Deva in Bengali script. It is believed that Dinajpur was named after the name of Koch king Danuj. He was also disturbed by the attack of the Muslim invaders of a Turk family of Mongolian descent and therefore, he could not fulfill his desire of preaching Hinduism in North Bengal. His son was converted into Mohammedanism and was called Yadu or Jallaluddin." After about a century, Biswasingha, a Mech from Chiknajhar, Kokrajhar established Mech kingdom with his capital at Cooch Behar. Kings of his dynasty ruled various parts of Assam and North Bengal till their kingdoms were annexed to the British

India. Thus a clear chain of the Bodo people ruling over Kamarupa and Bengal from the pre-Christian era till these two regions were annexed to British India could be found. The treaties signed by and between the kings of the North Eastern States and the British East India Company would also show that till these States were annexed to British India, these regions were predominantly inhabited by the people of the Bodo race. The treaties have been reproduced later in this book. Thus tons of records created by anti-Bodo vested interests to obliterate the glories and the identities of the Bodos have failed to erase the history of the Bodos. In fact, the Bodos survived the scare of extinction and/or obliteration though their number, in their long march of survival, got miserably depleted rendering them to form a negligible minority.

Bodos in the Writings of Modern Scholars

The writings of some of the present writers are found to have espoused the cause of the Bodo history. Hence we can read, "The origin of the Kirata people of Nepal can be traced back in combination of three races. According to the Kirata Mundhum or tradition, these races are known by the names of Khambongbas or the Khambos, the Tangsongthas or the Mongols and the Munaphens of the Chinese. The Khambongbas were the first immigrants to the Himalayan region. The Tangsongthas or Mongols and the Munaphens or Chinese people came later periods and intermingled with the Khambos and constituted a big human race. They spread from this Himalayan region to India, Burma, Syam, Vietnam, Malay and Philippine islands." (Boudha Sangskriti, P.47 – by Rahul Sanskritayan)

"According to the Markandeya Purana, the famous seven Kirata kingdoms during Mahabharata time were Aswakuta or Kabul, Kulya or Kulu Valley, Matsya or North Bihar, Pundra or Bengal, Sumer or Assam, Malak or Mlek or Lohit, Kinner Kirata or Garhwal or Nepal. ----- During the time of Mahabharata, there were many kings in Bihar and Bengal who were called Harba Hang, Darba Hang, Viratha, Satya and Kichaka. The Kirata people were ruling all the lands from Himalayas to the sea shores of the bay of Bengal." (Kirata Itihas, Pp.7-8 – by I. S. Chemjung)

"The eastern part of India, even when Aryanised, preserved considerable differences from the midlands in point of language, ethnic elements and culture, and this undoubtedly explains the origin of the two heterodox sects in this very reason. The Sakya clan had a Mongolian strain in their blood." (The Age of Imperial Unity, P.283)

"In Magadha, Anga, Vanga and Kalinga the Non- Aryans were very strong in those territories and consequently not absorbed by the Aryans. The non-Aryans constituted to have their own social organizations." (Ancient India, P.103 – by V. D. Mahajan)

"The kingdoms of Magadha and Anga were beyond the pale of Aryan civilization. There was dislike for Magadha in the Rigveda and the same was continued even during the period of later Vedic civilization. This is abundantly proved by a reference in the Atharva Veda that evil things like fever should go to Magadha and Anga." (Ancient India, P.137 – by V. D. Mahajan)

"The Aitarya Brahmana refers to the Pundras (North Bengal) as dasyus living beyond the pale of Aryan civilization. Baudhyayana in the Dharmasutra regarded the Pundras and Vangas as impure barbarians." (Ibid – P.504)

"We hear of one Paundraka-Vasudeva who claimed to be Vasudeva or Krishna. He united under him Vanga, Pundra and Kirata. He made an alliance with Jarasandha of Magadha against Krishna." (Ibid – P.504)

"Thus the early literary records point to non-Aryan ethnic character of the original inhabitants of Bengal. This non-Aryan character is also supported by the linguistic evidences. According to Sylvian Levi, the primitive peoples of Bengal and the neighboring provinces spoke a language which was neither Aryan nor Dravidian but belonged to a separate family of speech. Modern ethnological and philological researches have thrown some light on the ethnic composition of the early Bengali population." (Ibid – P.505)

The facts and events narrated above would show beyond any reasonable doubt that since the pre-Christian era till the Muslim and the British rules, the eastern part of Bengal was predominantly inhabitated by the people belonging to the Bodo stock. So was the position with regard to the Northern part of Bengal, while the people living in the western part of Bengal are stated to be of mixed descendents of Tibeto-Burmans and the Austric people. The findings mentioned above, would irresistibly suggest the Bodic Mongoloid origin of all the Hindus of Bengal, as in the cases of Nepal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Assam, Tripura and Manipur. They preferred to be identified as the Aryan Hindus after the Buddhism took to disappear. The story of Mr. Tagore also abundantly proves that Bengal was beyond the pale of Brahminic rule till the thirteenth century and the indigenous people of Bengal began to embrace the Brahminic Hinduism during the reign of the Senas. The priests, similar to the ruling dynasties have proclaimed themselves as the Kshatriyas, were also quick to proclaim themselves as the Brahmins. With a view to isolate the common mass forming eighty five per cent of the Bengali Hindus, the metamorphosed Brahmins with their new found false status, as the new converts are seen to be over jealous to their own people, introduced the Kulin system in Bengal which instead of bringing cohesiveness to Bengal brought further divisive tendencies inviting backwardness and disunity among the mass. Thanks to the British education which has eradicated such sickening practices including the Kulin system of Bengal.

Then it happened that when the Buddhism took to decline in India, many of the Bodo priests who by then evolved and got identified as the Brahmins, say, Nagara Brahmanas, were in great demand in India for their religious rites and were hired by the people then living in other parts of India. The Nagara Brahmanas of Kamarupa as stated by scholars including Mr. Nagendra Nath Basu, thus spread far and wide and many of them migrated to places including the modern Gujarat. It is however, a different story that the Buddhism spread to Bengal and Kamarupa during the Pala rules which again completely waned away from the thirteenth century giving way to the Hinduism to come up again. As the

kings of ancient Kamarupa were very powerful, the court personnel also grew very strong and they tended to shadow the importance of the priests in Kamarupa and Bengal. The court personnel pronounced themselves as the Kayasthas irrespective of their Varnas and as such, we hear now the stories that Kayasthas of Bengal and Kamarupa are of two origins, say, the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins. The Sucharu Kayasthas of Gauda (North Bengal) are directly linked to Bhagadatta, the Bodo king of Pragjyotishpura. After the fall of the Kamatapuris, the Kayastha representatives who were looking after their small areas, declared themselves as the Bhuyans i. e., land lords. Mahapurusha Shankar Deva's ancestors are believed to be Bhuyans of Kayastha clan. None the less, while tracing their genealogy, most of the Kayasthas of Kamarupa and Bengal go back to the Mahabharata fame Bhagadatta, the Bodo-Kirata king.

The Bodos of Kamarupa and Bengal, in their long march from the era of Narakasura to that of the Palas and subsequent thereto, innovated multiple ways of worship including those that are stated in ancient texts like the Kalika Purana and Yogini Tantra. Besides their traditional mode of worship, say, chanting prayers with offerings, in their Kherai Rite, the Bodos introduced the use of dance, song, musical instruments and the participation of females. As is evident from the Yogini Tantra and the Kalika Purana, the mode of Kherai Rite of the Bodos stealthily percolated to the mode of the Pujas meant for the goddess Kali and/or goddess Durga. There after, when the Bhaktism was introduced in Bihar, Bengal and Assam, the Kherai Rite of the Bodos got translated into 'nama-kirtana' in which all the characteristics of the Kherai Rite are still noticeable. The difference between the two is very thin; the Bodos continued their Kherai Rites in their own way while in the case of Nama Kirtana, it was modified to suit their requirements.

In this back ground, one may read the social history of ancient Kamarupa. Mr. Basu's following statements made in his book 'Social History of Kamarupa' may be relevant to this context;

"After going through the Vaishnava literature of Utkala, I came to the conclusion that through the influence of Mahaprabhu Sri Chaitanyadeva, kirtan songs were introduced in Utkala; that before Sri Chaitanya, Sankardeva used to sing kirtans in Kamarupa and before his time kirtan songs were sung there. Under these circumstances, it can be asserted that kirtans had been in vogue in Kamarupa before they were known in Utkala. But why should there be similarity between kirtans in these two different places? I was at first struck and thought that the singer might have hailed from Orissa too. To my astonishment I came to learn that the singer is not an inhabitant of Utkala, but a learned Kayastha gentleman hailing from Kamarupa. His style of Nama-kirtan and his mode of expressing feelings roused my curiosity to such a degree that I thought the coincidence almost a puzzling affair; for how could there be such unanimity of nama-kirtan in two distant places, Utkala and Kamarupa? With all the slight variation of intonation and the manner of singing, the kirtan seems to pass for one and the same. It sets me further thinking how the relation stands good for one. Has Kamarupa initiated Utkala or Utkala initiated Kamarupa? My first reasoning forced me to think that probably Sankaradeva, the great religious reformer of Kamarupa went to Utkala and brought with him manners of singing kirtan from that country. But after going through the Vaishnava literature of

Utkala, I came to the conclusion that through the influence of Mahaprabhu Sri Chaitanyadeva, kirtan songs were introduced in Utkala; that before Sri Chaitanya, Sankardeva used to sing kirtans in Kamarupa and before his time kirtan songs were sung there. Under these circumstances, it can be asserted that kirtans had been in vogue in Kamarupa before they were known in Utkala. But why should there be similarity between kirtans in these two different places? How the Brahmanas from Kamarupa, Srihatta or Vanga migrated to Utkala and settled there, and how ancient kings of Kamarupa ruled not only Kamarupa and Gauda but the whole of Utkala as well with a high-hand for a pretty long time, I tried my best to explain. After the publication of 'The Social History of Kamarupa' (1st and 2nd parts), Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and my friend Babu Jogendrachandra Ghosh discussed about Prachya Nagar Brahmanas and Kayasthas and the conclusion they arrived at in their respective treatises and the newly discovered copper-plate of Bhauma kings, has brought in, I frankly admit, new light to discuss it anew. In the 3rd part I elaborately discussed all those points. When the 1st and 2nd parts were published, I could not ascertain what was the cause of the great influence of ancient Kamarupa Rajas from the coast of the Pacific Ocean in the east to the boundary of Magadha on the west and from the foot of the Himalayas on the North to Ganjam in the Madras Presidency in the South. Not only the influences of the Rajas of Kamarupa were felt in those provinces, but with them the customs, manners and ideals of Brahmanas, who went with them were felt greatly. And remnants of these customs, manners and ideals are still seen prevalent there. With the advent of the Bhauma dynasty, their protegee, the Nagara Brahmans went to Gauda and Utkala to spread their sacred literature, manners, and customs in those places. This can easily be proved by the unanimity of customs, literature, style and intonation among the people living in those places. Again, with the advent of Muhammadan administration, Muhammadan manners and customs were introduced in Bengal and the customs and manners of Bhauma period became almost extinct. But in Kamarupa and Utkala instances of old influences of Bhauma rulers and their advisors can be seen even now. When Utkala and Kamarupa were independent, no outside influence could enter there. Now, with the spread of Western Education the languages of both the places have become artificial to some extent. Ideals almost entirely changed and the old intimacy between the two countries has gradually been impaired to a narrower limit and people of both the countries are going to forget their old friendly relationship. The aristocracy of modern Kamarupa admits only the influence of the culture of Mithila, on their country, but the data which we now possess conclusively prove that at one time there was a very close inter-relation between Kamarupa and Gauda-Vanga. Besides Gauda, Kamarupa entered into a very close association with Udra and Kalinga. From the contemporary epigraphic records we come to know that the Bhauma dynasty or the dynasty of Bhagadatta ruled for many years with absolute power not only over Pragjyotisa but also over Gauda, Udra, Kalinga and Kosala. The inscriptions found in many places in Orissa contain accounts of their rule for over four hundred years. How the Bhauma dynasty of Kamarupa extended its sway first to Gauda and then to the whole of Orissa is a story which no one has yet attempted to tell. It is essential that there should be an enquiry into the principles of social ethics that were evolved as a result of the merging of the manners, customs, usages and culture that were prevalent among the upper classes of the several countries that came under the rule of the Bhauma dynasty. A discussion of this subject will make it clear how the earlier standards

of society were considerably modified not only in Kamarupa but also in Gauda and Kalinga and how the various communities of Kamarupa and Orissa still bear the stamp of that age of cultural union."

It can thus be stated that the Nama Kirtan system was first introduced by the people of Kamarupa belonging to the Bhauma dynasty of the Bodo stem, which has become an integral part of the Hinduism at a later stage. The social evolution in Bengal and Kamarupa continuously led the Bodos towards the Hinduism thus undoubtedly they represent the majority of the present Bengali and Assamese speakers.

Suggested Readings

1. The Social History of Kamarupa ---- Nagendra Nath Basu

2. The Caste System of Hindus ---- Sourindra Mohan Tagore

3. Vishnu Purana ---- Published by Geeta Press

4. India Discovered ---- Hohn Keay

5. Bodo Civilization in India ---- Bakul Chandra Basumatary

6. The People and Culture of Bengali:

   A Study in Origins ---- Annapurna Chattopadhyay

7. Religion and Bengali Culture ---- S. N. Das

8. Kalika Purana ---- Biswa Narayan Shastri

9. A History of Assam ---- E. A. Gait

10. Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the

    Western World ---- Samuel Beal

11. Mahavamsa: The Great Chronicles

    Of Ceylon ---- Weilhelm Geiger

Assamese Muslims: A Bodo Perspective of Their Identity

Islam in Bengal

Islam entered into full force in Bengal with Turkish conquest towards the beginning of the 13th century. During the first three hundred years or so of Muslim rule, Bengal was ruled by the Turks, the Khaljis, the Ilbaris and the Qaraunas. The Turks do form a part of the larger racial group of Mongoloid people. The Khaljis were one of the sixty four clans of the Turks and the Ilbaris formed a tribe within the Turks, while Qaraunas belonged to a Turkish tribe who settled between Sind and Turkistan. Qaraunas were generally the Turks who were the descendants of Turkish father and non-Turkish mother. By the 14th century, the Sultanate saw the expansion of Muslim power spread into every nook and corner of the country up to Kamarupa in the North-East and Tippera in the East and the sea in the South. The Abyssinian slaves occupied the throne for a few years in the 15th century and then came successively the Sayyids, the Afghans and the Mughals. Hence, one would find all the Muslim rulers of Bengal either belonging to the Turks or the Afghans and/or the Mughals. The Mughals and the Turks were linked to each other as they are believed to have descended from the people of a common stock. The Turks, the Mughals and the Afghans even after they acquired their own separate identifications, entered into marriage alliances among themselves; and in Bengal, they established marriage relations with the local indigenous people who were mostly of the Mongoloid group. This prompted large scale conversion of local people into Islam. Thus in Bengal, Moslem population represented people belonging to the Mongoloid stem bound by the religious thread of Islam. The society of the people in Bengal, was automatically got restructured after the full scale conversion of local people into Islam and the indigenous people of Bengal re-emerged with their new identification of Muslims and/or Moslems.

Pre-Muslim Period of Bengal and India

Should one go back to ancient Bengal, he would find the names of its various regions associated with the people living in there maintaining a political system of Janapadas. The ancient Janapadas of Vanga, Pundra, Radha and Gauda came to be recognized as belonging to non-Aryan ethnic groups bearing those names. Samatata was an important Janapada in the trans-Meghna region of Bangladesh in its south-eastern part (Comilla-Noakhali area). The Chittagong area with its adjacent areas was known by the name of Harikela. The existence of these Janapadas is known from the later Vedic literature and the areas practicing the political system of Janapadas are stated to have been inhabited by non-Aryan people. As described in the Buddhist literature, Vajrayana, one of the forms of the Buddhism, originated in these regions. While identifying the non-Aryans of the then Bengal, all the writers are unanimous to pronounce them to be of Mongoloid stem. The identification as regards the indigenous people of Bengal has also been supported by G. Van Driem when he writes in his book, 'Ancient Tibeto-Burman Migrations' to the effect, "Chinese and Bodic form a genetic grouping called 'Sino-Bodic' subordinate to Tibeto-Burman.---In the Terrai belt along the sub-Himalayan foothills, Tibeto-Burman peoples such as Tharu, Bodo and Toto give the appearance of representing an indigenous South Asian racial type with an admixture of Mongoloid racial stock, the later

presumably reflecting the ancient Tibeto-Burmans who, at any rate, are the linguistic fore bearers of the people. Assuming that the Tibeto-Burman proto-homeland lay approximately in the language family's present geographical centre of gravity, i. e., in Sichuan and Yunnan, the first migration of Tibeto-Burman out of this area would, on historical linguistic grounds, have been the western Tibeto-Burman migration to the fluvial plains of the lower Brahmaputra and the surrounding hill tracts in or about 2000 B. C. to 1200 B. C."

Not only the indigenous people of the then Bengal are of Mongoloid origin, the origin of the Aryans has also now been traced from the Mongoloid stem. In his book, 'The Myth of the Aryan Invasion of India', David Frawley has pointed out among others, the following; "There is no racial evidence of any such Indo-Aryan invasion of India but only a continuity of the same group of people who traditionally considered themselves to be Aryans. --- Current archaeological data do not support the existence of an Indo-Aryan or European invasion into South Asia any time in the prehistoric period. Instead, it is possible to document archaeologically, a series of cultural changes reflecting indigenous cultural developments from prehistoric to the historic periods." This speaks in volumes about the social mobility in India. In consonance therewith Mr. Herbert Risley has also pointed out in his book 'The People of India', "All over India tribes are gradually and insensibly being transferred into castes." The present Indians are undoubtedly the product of such a mobility which encompassed in it all the racial groups of people but predominantly Tibeto-Burmans.

By the time Islam entered into Bengal, the caste oriented Hinduism had already taken to spread its wings in the eastern parts of India including Bengal and the Buddhism was fast disappearing from the religious scene in India. The Hinduism represents the practice of worshipping multifarious forms of god whether it is called Paganism or Animism or Theism and the term 'Hindu' was used by the Westerners, the Persians, the Muslims and the British people to mean and identify the people living to the east of the Sindhu River who were neither the Muslims nor the Christians. The term Hindu is again a perverted form of the word, 'Sindhu'. As it was found difficult to pronounce it, the Westerners like the Greeks and the British people softened the term to call the river as the Hindu. In course of time, all the people living to the east of the Sindhu River who were not the Christians and/or the Muslims were identified and called the Hindus.

Historical pronouncements are loud and clear regarding the Indian civilization which began and flourished with the initiated nursing of the people belonging to the great Mongoloid race who were at times, identified in India, as the Kiratas, the Pauravas, the Pulindas, the Mauryas, the Mallas, the Sakyas, the Lichchavis, the Ikshwakus, the Devas, the Guptas, the Burmans, the Manikyas, the Singhas, the Bodos, the Mlechchas and the like. Indian history began with the history of Mongoloid people. As found in the ancient world, initially all of the indigenous people of India including the Mongoloids were also the worshipers of various gods and goddesses. When Lord Buddha introduced and propagated the Buddhism, the Mongoloid people of ancient India renounced their practice of god worship for the Buddhism and followed it for about thousand years till the Hunas, another wave of the Mongoloid Scythians entered into India. The Hunas had a

disliking for the Buddhism and as such they took to persecute the Buddhism and the Buddhists. The indigenous Buddhist Indians could not withstand the persecution of the Hunas and took to abandon the Buddhism as a matter of safety and convenience. In the result they returned to their old practice of polytheism. To distinguish themselves from the Buddhists, the same existing old Indian society was taken up for reconstruction and the society was ultimately restructured. In the process, the authochthonus of ancient India including those who followed the Buddhism re-emerged with a neo society under a brand name 'the Aryan' and hitherto they took to identify themselves as the Aryans, i. e., metamorphosed and/or refined people. With a view to suppress the process of restructuring of the old society and to hide their origin, they imported the theory of Aryan invasion into India. Simultaneously, Codes of the Hinduism were composed, the Epics were created, the Mythical Puranas were edited and the Manusmriti was written. In all the Hindu writings, the mythical Aryans have been acclaimed while others including the Greeks and the Persians have been dehumanized and called as the Mlecchas. None the less, the theory of Aryan migration into India has now been proved false and fictitious; and as such, as on to-day, it is nothing more than a myth. Despite, the Caste System promoters were successful to instill in the minds of the common mass the idea of 'the Caste System' in the society on various false pretexts. In the process, other casteless ideal Indian societies and people practicing equality in their societies were castigated as the Mlechchas. The propaganda though vain and false, was kept sponsored by fictitious Puranic tales and their religious scriptures. The painful part of it is that from Manusmriti to the Vedas and from the Epics to the Puranas, the Hindu texts are found resonant with the tone of malice and hatred towards non-Hindu Indians who do not follow their Caste System. This is undoubtedly unbecoming of religious tenet, opposed to ethical code, against the principle of fraternity, hostile to the legal sanction of equality and is liable to be discarded as the racist one.

Human history is full of examples of the people living with such unsound practices, unethical tenets and imprudent customs which in course of time got modified and readjusted. However, the fundamentals of the Hinduism are seen till to-day, surviving on mythical basis and illogical grounds bereft of reason and scientific explanations which are even found as opposed to the doctrines of the Indian Constitution. Never the less, a practice how so ever imprudent and fallacious, it is followed and accepted if it is repeatedly told and propagated. For example it may be cited that the notion, 'the earth is flat and the sun revolves round the earth' though incorrect, was still accepted to be true by the ancient people for many centuries. In India, after the Indian society was restructured, with a view to perpetrate the cause of the Hindu Caste System, non-Hindus were dehumanized and demonized. While the caste ridden Hindus claimed themselves to be Aryans (civilized), the descendants of the Sun, the Moon and the gods; others were cursed as the Dasyus, the Rakshasas, the Pisasas, the Mlechchas, the Bratyas, the Yavanas, the Monkeys and the Bears irrespective of their cultural standing, high civilization attainment and well administered kingdoms and/or republics. They intentionally failed to depict the correct picture of the ancient Indian indigenous people in history books lest they would be exposed. The realm of the Bodos that had sprung up in India before the so called Aryan society had originated, has never been cited by the Indian writers when they began to write about the India history in the eighteenth and/or

the nineteenth century. The culture and the civilization pertaining to the indigenous people were never appreciated but were whimsically castigated with malice and contempt. The simple natured Bodos were caused to suffer the continued, painful and derogatory censures meted out to them by the self proclaimed Aryans. With a view to get rid of such strains, the indigenous people living in India before the ingress of the Muslims, including the Buddhists of Mongoloid race and the South Indians of Negroid blood had taken to think it wise to assimilate with the Hindus accepting thereby their Caste System. The royal Bodo families of Kamarupa, Kamatapur, Cooch Behar, Dimapur/Khaspur and Tripura hastened to proclaim themselves as Hindus by observance of Hiranyagarbha ceremonies in order to secure the status of Kshatriyas, the second rung in the Hindu Varna system. (The Varna system has been held as opposed to the humanity by the UNO and it has advised to abolish such practices.) The common mass comprising of the artisans and the peasants had to follow their royal examples. To justify their Hindu status, fictitious stories were cooked up drawing their lineages from the mythical Puranic kings. The Cooch Behar Mech Bodo kings were depicted as the descendants of king Sahasrarjuna of the Western India, the Bodo-Kacharis of Dimapur/Khaspur were shown as the progenies of Bhima, the second Pandava. The same methodology was applied to the Rajput kings of Mewar and other northern kingdoms. Hence, the students of the later generation could read in the history books to the effect that Parmars, Pratiharas, Chauhans and Chalukyas were the Kshatriyas though they were none other than the people coming with the Kushanas, other waves of the Mongoloids. As regards the Bodos, some of them living in far flung areas, preferred to continue with their old culture and religious practices. Then again, the Islam arrived in India. The arrival of Islam in Bodo regions had again shaken their indigenous faith and culture as they found that the religion was backed and sponsored by the State authority. State power and functions were available to the people following the State religion. When all Bengal fell to the Muslim rule, the indigenous people, as a matter of convenience and survival, had to reconsider their views towards their religion and decided in terms of joining the group to form a part of the people practicing the State religion. This consideration led them towards large scale conversion into Islam in Bengal.

Instances of Converts

As stated by Kamrun Nahar in 'Racial Origin of the Muslim Population and their Social Stratification under the Bengal Sultanate', "Converted Muslims came from Hindus, Buddhists and Animists. Hindus were of generally two classes, Upper and Lower.

Upper Class Hindus

A few Brahmans accepted Islam either willingly, which probably didn't occur frequently or by the pressure of any kind, which was apparently dominant. For instance, King Ganesh was compelled to convert his son 'Jodu' to Muslim only being afraid of losing power. (Jodu has been identified as the Kirata king by many writers.) He was in the threat of attack by the Sultan of Jaunpur, named Ibrahim Sharki. Then, Nur Qutb-Alam, a powerful saint, who had high contact with Sultan Ibrahim Sharki, gave him an ultimatum either to take Islam or to take dreadful fate of being overthrown from the throne. So, in

lieu of taking Islam by himself, he helped his son to be converted. Another person named Kalapahar was the famous general of Afghan Sultan Sulayman Karrani (1565-1572). He was before a Kayastha and later a converted Muslim.

Lower Class Hindus

Lower class people outnumbered the upper class in conversion, which occurred in a few cases by coercion, but in many cases by influence and willingly.

Animists

Tribal people, who believed in animism, also changed their religion in a considerable number. For instance, on the way of his Tibet expedition, Bakhtiyar Khalji captured a man of Mech tribe and converted him giving a Muslim name 'Ali'. Then, three tribes, such as, Koch, Mech and Tharu, lived in the foot of Himalayas towards the north of Bengal. They were animists, but turned into Muslims, as thought to be, by the influence of Ali Mech.

Buddhists

Sena dynasty, which started its journey from 1095, began to eradicate Buddhists from Bengal persecuting them in a great number. This is why, while Muslims came to power bringing the end in the Sena rule, Buddhists too accepted Islam willingly, wishing to survive being free from the oppression of Brahmans."

By the time the British India had its first census in 1872 Bengal had a significant Muslim population. "Of the Bengal Muslims", U. A. B. Razia Akter Banu points out in her book 'Islam in Bangladesh,' "only 1.52 percent of the Muslims of entire Bengal and 1.20 percent of East Bengal areas (Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong divisions) claimed foreign ancestry in the 1872 census." The writer writes further, "British administrative and census officers were quick to interpret the large-scale presence of Muslims of Northern and Eastern Bengal as the result of mass conversion of low-caste Hindus. As Beverley wrote, 'the real explanation of the immense preponderance of Mussalman religious element in this portion of the delta is to be found in the conversion to Islam of the immense low castes including Rajbangshis which occupied it.' --- Risley, through an anthropological examination of 185 low-caste Muslims concluded that the Bengali Muslims were converts from the Chandoos, Pods and Rajbangshis."

Needless to point out that Rajbangshis are none other than the Hinduised Bodos and/or Meches. Further, the term Rajbangshi has been used as a generic term that includes Koches, Bodos, Kacharis and/or Meches who claimed to belong to royal family after they proclaimed themselves as the Hindus. As the scholars observe, the converts of Bengal were predominantly Meches, Tharus and Koches forming the groups of the indigenous people belonging to the Bodo race of Dacca, Rajshahi, Mymonsingh, Dinajpur and Rangpur of Bengal. When the Bodos of East Bengal were busy in conversion to Islam, their royal families of Kamatapur and certain parts of Assam declared themselves as

Hindus and acted for the promotion and spread of Hinduism in their kingdoms. Hence, to day all the Bodo kings of Kamarupa, Kamatapura, Cooch Behar, Cachar and Tripura are identified as the Hindu kings. To show these kings as the Hindu kings, their racial origins were falsified and fictitious lineages were drawn from the mythical Puranic Hindu kings by some unscrupulous writers. They not only falsified the origin of the royal Bodo families but also dared to fabricate their own identifications with a view to eulogize themselves as the Brahmins. The origin of many of the Brahmins of North Eastern India is very often found as having been mentioned in the land grants purported to have been made by the Bodo Kings of Kamatapur, Coch Behar, Kamarupa and Tripura. Many of the original grants are not available but were rediscovered as the duplicates in later stages. The purported land grants were generally used with two fold objectives. The first objective was to fake the beneficiaries of such purported land grants. The second objective was to acquire tax free huge land and estate on the plea of rendering service of religion. In the researches conducted by scholars, the genuineness of such land grants in many cases, are found not impeccable. None the less, many of the unscrupulous people secured their coveted status of Brahmins with huge lands and estate. Thus the number of the Brahmins swelled in leaves and bounds while the population of the indigenous people took a quick down turn. Such instances of faking have been pointed out by the eminent writer D. D. Kosambi as well, in his book 'An introduction to the Study of Ancient Indian History'.

Islam Influence on Bodos

Whether it was the conversion to the Islam or the option for the Hinduism, both caused cumulative grievous affect on the Bodos as regards their identity, religion, culture, society and language are concerned. On becoming Hindus and/or Muslims, they had taken to distance from their own people. After conversion, to distinguish them from their own fellow brothers, they took to converse in Apabhrangsas and abandoned their own mother tongue. The studies on the subject would unfold that the Apabhrangshas are no other than the modified versions of the Bodo-Prakrits and/or the Kirata-Prakrits. The irony is, as pointed out already, the Indian people claiming themselves to be Aryans were none other than the indigenous people who evolved after the restructuring of the old Indian society on the decline of the Buddhism following the Hunas' arrival in India. The revelations of the archaeological findings, historical documentations and DNA discoveries are unanimous and unequivocal as regards the identity of the people of the ancient sixteen Buddhist States, the Kiratas, the Scythians, the Kushanas, the Hunas, the Turks and/or the Mughals who entered into India in different waves. All of them belong to a common racial origin of Mongoloids. The Bodos belong to this group as well and were the settlers of India since the Indus Valley Civilization era if not earlier. As such, the Bodo people resemble to Turks and/or Mongols as testified in the 'Tabaqat-I-Nasiri' which has been confirmed by Mr. Bryan Houghton Hodgson in his book 'Essay the First; On the Koch, Bodo and Dhimal Tribes' on the following lines.

"The great Scythic stem of the human race is divided into three primary branches, the Tungus, the Mongol and the Turk. The first investigators of this subject urgently insisted on the radical diversity of these three races. But the most recent inquires are more

inclined to unitize them. Certainly there is a strong and obvious character of physical sameness throughout the Scythian race; and it is remarkable that this peculiar character belongs also to all the aborigines of India, who may be at once known from the Cavery and Vigaru to the Cosi and Bhagirathi, by their quasi Scythian physiognomy. I apprehend that there will be found among the aborigines of India a like lingual sameness, and that very accurate investigation will consequently alone will suffice to test the real nature and import of the double sameness, physical and lingual. That all the aborigines of the Scythian stem seems decidedly and justly inferable from their physical characters."

The writer continues to write as under; "Of the three separate people treated (the Koch, Bodo and Dhimal), the faintly yet distinctly marked type of the Mongolian family is similar in all three, but best expressed in the Bodo features and form."

Beginning of Muslim immigration into Assam

As unfolded in the discussions made above, the racial origin of the Muslims of rural Bangladesh, Bengal and Assam, could be traced from the Turks, Mughals and the Mongoloids to which the indigenous Koch, Mech and Tharus form tentacles. The Bodos do form a part of the same racial lineage as that of the Turks, Mughals, Koches and Tharus. Another striking trait of the Assamese Muslims is that they hardly have changed the practice of agriculture as their profession and are still maintaining their agrarian trait similar to those of the Bodos. Therefore, Bangladeshi Muslims do prefer to migrate to Assam in search of cultivable land as the Bodos are used to do the same till to day. In the year 1874, Assam was declared as a province of British India. For various factors, among others, increase in their population and insufficiency of cultivable land in Bengal, the Muslims of the present day Bangladesh considered it safe to migrate to the neighbor States, Tripura and Assam where there were cultivable land in plenty. Their immigration to Assam is stated to begin from the middle of the nineteenth century and it continued unabated even after India attained independence and East Bengal formed a part of Pakistan. On the large scale immigration of Muslims from the regions of Sylhet, Mymonsing etc., the local people of Assam expressed their concern in this regard and requested the then Government to discourage their entry into Assam by means, among others, providing laws restraining them from settling in the regions of indigenous people. British India felt the need to introduce the 'Lining System' thereby restricting Muslim settlements in certain areas only. Muslim leaders strongly protested against the 'Lining System' and the Government led by the Congress Party had to slow down the implementation of the system.

Bodos were split and distributed

For the sake of repeating it, it may be stated that since the age of pre-Christian era, the regions of the present day Bangladesh, West Bengal and seven sisters of North East India had been under the rules of the kings belonging to the Kirata-Mongoloid dynasty which is now represented primarily by the Bodo people. When India attained independence, these areas were still predominantly occupied by the Bodo people who were yet to be fully absorbed in the Hindu Varna System. Hindu politicians did not consider it safe to leave

them flourish with their indigenous faith, culture and language. The resilience of these people to come up again and again to rule the region had always been frightening them. The fear nesting in the mind of the metamorphosed Hindus prompted them to conspire against the indigenous people. In the result, the Bodo inhabited regions were maliciously split and systematically truncated to distribute them to Bengal, Assam and Tripura to ensure that the Bodos would never be able to form majority in terms of their population in these States. The Bodos have been mercilessly deprived of their right to the enjoyment of the political power in free democratic India in which minorities have little say in policy making and State administration. Bangladesh with the Muslim majority with a huge Bodo population was transferred to Pakistan. Then again the Muslim converts of East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, were encouraged with coin and kind to cross over to Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura to outnumber the indigenous Bodos that are yet to embrace the Hinduism. Muslims were encouraged to settle in the Bodo dominated areas as they were sure that in the process, the Muslims will also remain as minority as ever.

In the process, the Bodos who once ruled almost all the North-eastern regions of the present India including the then Bengal have been drastically reduced to half of the total tribal population of the modern Assam. The erstwhile district of Rangpur which had the maximum Bodo population was sometimes annexed to Bengal and sometimes ceded to Assam and finally the district was split into multiple segments thereby distributing the Bodos to the regions falling in Bengal, Assam and the modern Bangladesh. The Bodos residing in Sylhet were also meted out the same treatment. The Bodos were thus politically segregated and physically separated from each other. The conspiracy against the Bodos continued unabated even thereafter. With the active help and connivance of the Government machineries, the Muslims were touted to enter into the erstwhile districts of Nowgong, Darrang, Kamrup, Nalbari, Barpeta and Goalpara which had maximum Bodo habitations. In a few years, the Bodo populated districts witnessed the spurt in Muslim population. The continued malicious conspiracy hatched by the Government and the vested interest groups towards the Bodos should have been condemned by all but was never objected to. On the other hand, the vested interest groups did not like the Muslims to settle and live peacefully in Assam either. Therefore, the Muslims are being instigated against the Bodos, the peace loving community, with a view to perpetuate the communal conflicts between the two communities. These are the living instances of injustice meted out to the Bodos and the Muslims that need to be addressed if not by the Government, by the Bodos and the Muslims themselves. The honor and dignity of the Bodos who had been once the impeccable rulers of India could be redeemed if only a bigger separate State for all the homogenous Bodo groups is created. In this mission, the Bodos would need the help of the Assamese Muslim brothers who are also racially the descendants of a single common stem.

Muslim role to bring lasting peace in Assam

The role of the Assamese Muslims is very important in resolving the burning issues being faced by Assam, particularly, the northern part of Assam. As a matter of right and privilege, the Muslims are entitled to continue with their religion as is the case of the Bodos to continue with their traditional faith and culture. There are innumerable

instances in the world that would show the religious tolerance existing in a family by allowing the members of their own families to practice and follow different religions. As such, the religion should not be considered as a hindrance to the Bodo groups in joining hands to claim for a larger Bodo State. As regards the Muslims migrating from Bangladesh, historical records and the Government Census documents unequivocally declare that 98.5 percent of the Bangladeshi Muslims are local converts. This irresistibly suggests that at least 98.5 percent of the immigrant Muslims were indigenous people of the then Bengal (now Bangladesh) if it is assumed that the Muslims of foreign parentage also took to migrate, which event is unlikely. Needless to reiterate that as per the Mahabharata, the foreign accounts, the Buddhist and Jain records, the entire region from the slope of the Himalayas to the sea shore was the abode of Kiratas and Chinas and/or the Tibeto-Burmans who were at times identified and called as the Dasyus, Meches, Tharus, Koches, Kacharis, Bodos and Rajbangshis. In course of time, they are again divided into Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Pagans and Animists based on the religions they had taken to follow. Despite, racially they remain the same. Their sameness is manifest in their physiognomy, phonology and profession though they follow different religions and speak diverse languages.

In Assam, to-day, both the Muslims and the Bodos are on a similar position as regards their social standing and their financial status are concerned. Illiteracy and poverty are their perennial issues. They reside in backward regions with no infrastructural facilities. They are living in a pre-medieval age in the areas of inaccessible river banks and forests. Both the communities are made to live in an atmosphere riddled with tension, distrust and apprehension. Their sentiments are kept fragile, their perceptions are made brittle and they could easily be provoked to loose their balance and normalcy. For no reason, they are provoked to fight each other causing meaningless bloodshed. When they fight, who gains? Neither the Bodos nor the Muslims gain. Peace, tranquility and progress abandon their regions. Following the conflict, people of both the communities desert their homes and land. Their land and houses are grabbed by the vested interests. The Government instrumentalities aid and support the causes of non-Bodos and/or non-Muslims as the Government, they think, is of them, by them and for them only, not of the Muslims nor of the Bodos.

Bodos and Muslims to unite

Further, the people of both the communities are no better than the bonded laborers for agricultural production. They toil under the scorching sun and grow crops braving the heavy rains and flood. At the cost of their health and life, other people enjoy in towns and cities. The Bodos and the Muslims are doomed with insecurity, unemployment, poverty, backwardness and communal conflicts. They are left to extinct suffering. This has been the bitter truth. This is not too difficult to appreciate which the Muslims and the Bodos are found very often to have failed to realize. Why then, in the interest of both the communities and the greater peace and prosperity of the region, the Bodos and the Muslims cannot come together to join hands to address the issues being faced by them? Look other way round. If no such joining hands of the Bodos and the Muslims would take place in the North Eastern region, both the communities are likely to live in

perpetual misery. The Hindu promoters would never allow the Bodos and the Muslims to flourish with their own culture and custom. This is manifest in their schemes and policies. From the educational institutions to the government offices, the Bodos are treated as second grade citizens. Until Mr. Cotton abolished the practice of writing the names of the candidates in answer sheets of the Board and University examinations, students belonging to the Bodo community were compulsorily failed. It was an exception that some Bodo students got through the examinations. After abolition of the practice, not only the Bodo students are found as having passed the examinations in large numbers but they also scored marks equal to the students belonging to other communities, if not more. Then again, in schools and colleges the teachers and professors are found to treat the Bodo students with malice, contempt and biasness. This undoubtedly affects the very zeal and eagerness of the Bodo students to learn and do well in their studies. In the offices, promotions to the Bodos are delayed and very often the Bodo officers are denied their due promotions to their next scales and/or grades. This racist outlook of the government machineries may be applicable to the Muslims as well. None the less, the Muslims cannot expect better treatment from the present Assam Government. They cannot hope for some miracle to capture and administer the entire Assam on their own either. On the other hand, the process of absorbing all the people of the Bodo group in the Hindu fold is actively in process and it has gained momentum. It is a matter of couple of decades to completely absorb all the Bodos in the Hindu fold. Once all the Bodos are absorbed in the Hindu Caste System, Muslims are not going to derive better treatment than what is being meted out to them as at present. Therefore, the Assamese Muslims should hasten the process to declare their own racial origin to get it recorded in government records including census documents. Having done so, irrespective of their religions, the people of the Bodo group would increase manifold to outnumber other people of Assam and in terms of the mandate of the Indian Constitution and the democratic prescriptions, Assam will have to be reorganized to give way to the long awaited Bodoland, certainly with some degree of autonomy to the Assamese Muslims. The Muslims and the Bodos would not lose anything from the move but surely they will gain from such initiatives and options. The Bodos and the Muslims of Assam may like to consider the aspect dispassionately and make an attempt to arrive at a well deliberated conclusion in this regard thereby setting an epochal trend for the future of Assam.

Suggested Readings

1. Ancient Tibeto-Burman Migrations – by G. Van Driem
2. The Myth of the Aryan Invasion of India – by David Frawley
3. Racial Origin of the Muslim Population and their Social Stratification under the Bengal Sultanate – by Kamrud Nahar
4. Islam in Bangladesh – by U. A. B. Razia Akter Banu
5. An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Indian History – by D. D. Kosambi
6. Essay the First, On the Koch, Bodo and Dhimal Tribes – by Bryan Houghton Hodgson.

Treaties between the British Government and the Kings belonging to the Bodo race

The mighty Bodo dynasties had gradually lost their might and prowess leading the Bodo kings to ultimately surrender their sovereignty to the Britsh Government on the plea of protection from the foreign aggressions. The treaties entered into by and between the British Government and the kings of the North-Eastern kingdoms are undoubtedly the instances not only of the indigenous people living in these areas are the Bodos but they were also the rulers of these regions for centuries till the treaties were signed. The treaties would help in writing and/or reconstructing the history of the then North Eastern Kingdoms. The treaties relevant to this book are reproduced below.

1. Cachar

After the Kachari kings including Govinda Chandra, the king of Cachar embraced the Brahminic Hinduism (King Govinda embraced Hinduism in 1790 AD) the history of Cachar was linked to Bheema, the second Pandava through a mythological story created for purposes among others, the cause of spreading the Hinduism to all parts of India including Cachar. The mythology thus created would say, once there lived in Cachar, two demons named Hedamba and Hidimba who were brother and sister to each other in relation. When the Pandavas happened to visit the place, they encountered the two demons and Bheema, the second Pandava instantly fell in love with Hidimba. The love at the first sight resulted in a marriage between Bheema and Hidimba. Hedamba was killed by the Pandavas as he opposed the marriage between Bheema and Hidimba. After spending some time in Cachar, the Pandavas left the place leaving behind Hidimba in Cachar. Hidimba was pregnant when her husband Bheema left her and in due course, she delivered a baby boy, the son of Bheema. The boy was named and called Ghatatkocha who possessed the prowess of Bheema and the magical traits of her mother Hidimba. As he grew up, he became all powerfull and conqured all the neibouring countries of Cachar. During the Mahabharata war, he is stated to have fought for the Pandavas. As he was powerful and endowed with magical prowess, he was about to destroy the entire Kaurava force in a single fight. Karna had to use his only unfailing Indrastra weapon which he kept for using it against Arjuna, to vanquish and kill Ghatatkocha.

Thus it would be evident that the Kacharis are the indigenous people of Cachar but they were dehumanized as demons in the Mahabharata. They form a section of the Bodos who are till to day, found spread in every nook and corner of the entire North East India, Bengal, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan. Cachar was declared as a district of Assam in free India. The portion of Cachar to the South of the Barail was a part of the Tipperah kingdom. The term Tipperah was rechristened as Tripura by the Hindu writers after the kings of Tipperah embraced the Brahminic Hinduism. Tipperahs form another branch of the great Bodo race. Sometime in the first half of the seventeenth century, the region forming the portion to the South of Barail was gifted to the Kachari King as a dowry when the Kachari King of Cachar married a Tipperah princess.

The Kacharis were ruling over the Brahmaputra valley and were forced by the aggressions of the Ahoms from the north and of the Angami Nagas from the south, to

remove their capital to rebuild it on the Mahur River. While settled there, about the beginning or middle of the seventeenth century, the Kachari king married a daughter of the Tipperah Raja, and received the valley of Cachar as her dowry. Some time between 1700 and 1750, the capital was transferred to Khaspur, on the Mahura River in the plains. In 1790 the Raja, by observing the Hiranyagarbha ceremony, became a Kshatriya Hindu of the Brahminic Aryan fold.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the valley of Cachar was the scene of a struggle for supremacy between the Manipuri brothers, Marjit, Chaurajit and Gambhir Singh, who had been driven from their own country by the Burmese. The Burmese were then in Assam, and as lords of Manipur (which they had conquered from Marjit in 1819), threatened to annex Cachar. The British Government, seeing the danger which it would cause to Sylhet, decided to prevent. Negotiations were first entered on with a view to an alliance with the Manipuri brothers. These overtures fell through, and it was resolved to take up the cause of Govinda Chandra, the refugee Raja of Cachar, who, with the Raja of Jaintia, was taken under British protection. The Burmese armies had advanced both from Assam and Manipur, were driven out, and Govinda Chandra was replaced on the throne. A Treaty bearing No.LXXI was executed on the 6th March 1824, by which the Raja placed himself under the British protection, and agreed to pay a tribute of Rs.10,000.

Govinda Chandra was assassinated in 1830, and as he left no heir, either natural or adopted, the country was annexed by proclamation on the 14th August 1832. Since Cachar became British territory, the only important political events which have marked its history have been the Lushai raids of 1849 and subsequent years until 1871, the last of which was followed by the expedition of 1871-72. In 1857 the sepoys of the 34th Native Infantry, who mutinied in Chittagong in November of that year were met in Cachar, defeated and dispersed by the Sylhet Light Infantry.

Treaty No.LXXI

(A copy of the Treaty concluded between David Scott, Esquire, Agent to the Governor-General, on the part of the Honorable East India Company and Rajah Govinda Chandra Narayan of Cachar or Hidimba in 1824)

Article 1: Rajah Govinda Chandra for himself and his successors acknowledges allegiance to the Honorable Company, and places his country of Cachar or Hidimba under their protection.

Article 2: The internal government of the country shall be conducted by the Rajah, and the jurisdiction of the British Courts of Justice shall not extend there; but the Rajah agrees to attend at all times to the advice offered for the welfare of his subjects by the Governor-General in Council, and agreeable thereto to rectify any abuses that may arise in the administration of affairs.

Article 3: The Honorable Company engages to protect the territory of Cachar from external enemies, and to arbitrate any differences that may arise between the Rajah and

other States. The Rajah agrees to abide by such arbitration, and to hold no correspondence or communication with foreign powers, except through the channel of the British Government.

Article 4: In consideration of the aid promised by the above Article, and other circumstances, the Rajah agrees to pay to the Honorable Company, from the beginning of the year 1232 B. S., an annual tribute of ten thousand Sicca (Rupees), and the Honorable Company agrees to provide for the maintenance of the Manipoorean Chiefs lately occupying Cachar.

Article 5: If the Rajah should fail in the performance of the above Article, the Honorable Company will be at liberty to occupy and attach, in perpetuity, to their other possessions, a sufficient tract of the Cachar country, to provide for the future realization of the tribute.

Article 6: The Rajah agrees, in concert with the British local Authorities, to adopt all measures that may be necessary for the maintenance in the district of Sylhet and the arrangements in force in the Police, Opium, and Salt Departments.

Executed at Budderpore, this 6th day of March 1824, corresponding with the 24th of Fagoona 1230 BS

(Sd.) D. Scott,
Agent to the Governor General

Rajah
(Govinda Chandra's Seal)

2. North Cachar

North Cachar is divided from the valley of the Barak by the range of the Barail, and lies between the Jaintia and the Naga Hills. When the district was under native rule during the last years of the reign of Govinda Chandra, North Cachar was the scene of a struggle between the prince and one of his officers, Kacha Din, who rebelled and endeavored to establish an independent government. He was captured and put to death by Govinda Chandra, but his son Toola Ram revived the rebellion, and in 1824 joined the Burmese in their attack on Cachar. After a series of wars, during which Toolaram successfully held his own territory, Mr. Scott induced Govinda Chandra in 1829 to assign to him a tract of country in the hills. After the assassination of Govinda Chandra, the Raja of Kachar, Toolaram was a candidate for the vacant chiefship, but failed to establish his title. In 1834 he entered into an Agreement (No. LXXII) with the British Government, in which he resigned all the western portion of the tract ceded by Govinda Chandra, retaining the tract on the east, bounded on the south by the Mahur river and the Naga Hills, on the west by the Diyung, on the east by the Dhansiri, and on the north by the Jamuna and Diyung. For this he was to pay a tribute of four pairs of elephants' tusks annually, receiving a monthly pension of Rupees 50.

Treaty No.LXXII

(Copy of the Agreement concluded with Toola Ram Senapathy on the 3rd November 1834 under the orders of the Government dated 6th October 1834)

First: Toola Ram foregoes all claims to the country between the Moihur and Diyung and the Diyung and Kapili River, from which he was dispossessed by Govinda Ram and Doorga Ram.

Second: Toola Ram is to hold the remainder of the country formerly in his possession or the tract of country bounded on the west by the Diyung River and a line to be determined hereafter, drawn from the Diyung to a point on the Jumoona River; by the Jamoona and Diyung Rivers to the north, by the Dhansira River to the east, and to the south and south-west by the Naga Hills and Mahur River, and he agrees to hold the above tract in dependence on the British Government, and to pay a yearly tribute for their protection, of four pairs of elephants' teeth, each pair to weigh thirty-five seers.

Third: Toola Ram, during his life, shall receive from the British Government a stipend of fifty Rupees a month in consideration of the fore- going cessions and these Agreements.

Fourth: The British Government shall have the right of placing Military posts in any part of Toola Ram's country, and should there be occasion to march troops through it, and Toola Ram engages to furnish them with all the requisites of carriage and provisions in his power, he shall be paid for the same.

Fifth: He shall take cognizance of all petty offences committed within his (Toola Ram's) country, and do justice according to the custom of the country but all heinous crimes shall be transferred to the nearest British Court and Toola Ram agrees to bring such offences to the notice of the British Government and he shall endeavor to apprehend the offenders.

Sixth: Toola Ram shall not establish any custom chowkies on the rivers forming the boundaries of his country.

Seventh: Toola Ram will not commence any military operations against neighboring Chiefs without permission of the British Government, and in case of being attacked he shall report the same and be protected by British troops, provided the British Authorities are satisfied that the aggression has been unprovoked on his part.

Eight: People shall not be prevented from emigrating to, and settling in, either side of the boundary they may prefer.

Ninth: In case of failing to abide by these conditions, the British Government shall be at liberty to take possession of my country.

(Sd.) Toola Ram Senapathy

Witnesses:

Bapoor Bam Muntbbe,
Burrah Phookan.

Habeerain Mozoomdar

Madhorain Rajah Khon

(Sd.) P. Jenkins,
Agent to the Governor General

Toolaram died in October 1850. His sons, Nakulram and Brajanath, held the country for two and half years more. The former was killed in the Naga Hills, when he had led an expedition to avenge an attack on his village of Semkhor; and in 1854 the tract was resumed by the British Government, the surviving members of Toolaram's family receiving pensions.

In 1839 the portion of North Kachar not included in Toolaram's dominion was annexed to Nowgong; and in 1858 a separate officer was placed in charge at Asalu, near the northern skirts of the Barail, whose business it was to keep watch on the Kukis and Angami Nagas dwelling in that neighborhood and to protect them against the Angami Nagas who were constantly making raids from the east into this country that was held by Toolaram. In 1854 this officer's charge was augmented by the addition of Toolaram's principality. In 1866 the Government of India agreed to a proposal that a new district should be formed, with its head-quarters at Samaguting, Asalu being abolished as a subdivision, and North Cachar was divided between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, South Kachar and Nowgong, that portion lying to the west of the Dhansiri and the country on both banks of the Diyung forming with the Angami Naga Hills, the new district.

At the close of the Naga war of 1879-80 sanction was given to the re-establishment of the sub-divisional charge of North Kachar, where since 1866 no officer had been located. The sub-division was opened in December 1880, and placed in charge of an Assistant Superintendent of Police, who was stationed, for the dry-weather months only (the hills being very unhealthy in the rains), at Gunjong, in the centre of the tract.

Towards the end of 1881 a Kachari patriot, named Sanbhudan, gave out that he was possessed of supernatural powers, and that his mission was to restore the ancient Kachari kingdom. He gathered about him some followers and, in January 1882, after demanding the cession of North Kachar, attacked Gunjong and burnt it to the ground. In a subsequent attack on Maibong, where Major Boyd, the Deputy Commissioner, with a party of police was encamped, the assailants were repulsed with loss, but Major Boyd unfortunately received a wound from the effects of which he died shortly after. Sanbhudan, after the

collapse of the insurrection, evaded capture until the end of 1882 when, in endeavoring to escape from the police, was surrounded and was wounded. He is reported to have bled to death.

3. Sikkim

Sikkim is called by the Tibetans as Demojong and/or Demoshong to mean the land or valley of rice and the Lepchas called it as Rong. It is at present bounded on the north by Tibet (China), on the east by Bhutan, on the west by Nepal, and on the south by the district of Darjeeling. The name Sikkim or more properly Sikhim or Sukhym, is perhaps derived from two Limbu words meaning " New Palace" and refers to the new kingdom founded by the Tibetan Penchoo Namgyel.

The boundary with Tibet has been defined in Article 1 of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of the 17th March 1890; and that with Nepal is a continuation southward of the above boundary. On the east the river Dechu or Dikchu, rising in Mount Gipmochi, practically separates Sikkim from Bhutan. In remote times the country of the Rong-pa or Lepcha was much more extensive, as in an old document it is described, "Demojong lies to the south-west of the Kukeshwarbari in the Lhassa, being bounded on the north by the Montain, probably the Chhorten Thangla Mountain which is guarded by the spirit Kiting. On the east of Demojong lies the Kanchanjunga. Its southern gate is Nagsarbhati which is guarded by Magon-Chamdul-Yabdui. Its western gate Timarit Chhorten is guarded by the terrible female spirit Mamo. The Kanchanjunga Mountain and the spirit Thamar Gamen of Zar guard it on the north."

The country was then chiefly inhabited by Lepchas, but encroachments on all sides very shortly took place. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was a noble family, who was connected with a ruling dynasty of China, at a place called Khammifiang-andong near Lithang headed by one Guru Tashe. Being warned by an oracle, Guru Tashe proceeded to Lhassa, whence his son Jokhy-Bumsa found his way to Sakya. Here the son succeeded in raising one of the four great pillars of the chief monastery. This was said to have defied the efforts of 10,000 men to raise hence the ancestor of the Sikkim Rajas gained his name, "The Lord of 10,000 Heroes". In Sakya he married the daughter of the Hieraroh. From Sakya, he went to Chombi, where he built a house, the site alone of which now remains, to the north of the present palace. Being childless, he consulted the Lamas and was told to propitiate the Chiefs of the Lepchas. He crossed the Chola and at Rankpo met Thekong-Tek and Nyekong-Nal Lepchas. They promised him three sons. He returned to Chombi where two sons were born, while the third was born at Pyakchen, below Phiangong. Their names were Lang-morab (The Ploughman), Kja-borab (The Swindler) and Mipon-rab (The Leader of Men). They came to Gangtok, but their father remained and died at Phiangong. At Gangtok, Mipon-rab had married a Tibetan lady of Sakya. The lady had given birth to a son, who is known as Guru Tashe. His grandson, Phuntsho-Namgyel or Penchoo Namgay who was born in 1604 A.D. became the first Raja of Sikkim.

Some thirty odd years later, three celebrated Lamas came to Sikkim. They were {a) Lha-tsan Chhembo who came by the Kanglanama pass, (b) Kliamdu Zangbo who came by the Singli-la, and {c) Onadag Sempa Chhembo came from Nepal via Namchi. They met at Yok-sam and deliberated over the way to convert the people of Sikkim to the truths of Buddhism. The result was that they sent To-den Kalzang Tondub to search for a man named Penchoo. This Lsma came to Gangtok where he found Phuntsho-Namgyel and brought him back to Yok-sam. There the three Lamas declared him the King of Sikkim. The following were the kings to rule over Sikkim in succession.

(1) Phun-tsho-Namgyel became the first Raja of Sikkim. His accession is said to have occurred in 164l. He was succeeded by his son.

(2) Ten-sung Namgyel was born in 1644. He was succeeded by his son.

(3) Cha-dhor Namgyel was born in 1686. His son died in 1717.

(4) Gyurm-Namgyel was born in 1707. He ascended the gadi of Sikkim in 1717 and was succeeded by his son, in 1734.

(5) Namgyel-Phun-tsho was succeeded by his son.

(6) Ten-zin-Namgyel died in 1798 when his son succeeded him.

(7) Chong-phui-Namgyel was born in 1786. He died in or about 1860, and was succeeded by his son,

(8) Sikyong Namgyel was born in 1819 and died in April 1874.

(9) Thothub Namgyel was the half –brother of Sikyong Namgyel. On the death of the king, he was placed on the gadi of Thothub.

There had been several Bhutanese invasions before the reign of Cha-dhor Namgyel, but it was about 1706, when De-ba zi-r Dar was Raja of Bhutan that his general Ta-pa-nag-wang-Tin-Ie occupied Rubdenchi and built forts at Ongdo-phodang, Takse-gong, and Namgyel Temple in Sikkim. The result of all these invasions was the permanent loss of all the country between the Tista (Teesta) river south of the Rishi Chu and the Tegong-la range.

Again, while Chug-phui-Namgyel was still but a child, the war between Nepal and Tibet-cum-China broke out, and the Nepalese, after sacking Tashi- thunpo, destroyed Rubdenchi and established themselves firmly in Sikkim, south and west of the Tista. The tradition goes that after the Chinese had expelled the Nepalese from Tibet they called on the Sikkimese to show their boundaries. The Raja being a minor and a fugitive, and everything being in confusion, there was no one to come forward, so the Chinese-Tibetan authorities gave up the Tista to the Nepalese as the south boundary of Sikkim, made the Cho1a Jelep range the north and east boundary, and appropriated the Chombi valley as

part of Tibet. The Sikkim Raja was even deprived of his ancestor's estate at Fiahte-jong and Samye in the province of Lhassa.

For some years Pemionchi and all the South Tista tract of Sikkim paid rent to Nepal until 1816, when the Nepalese were expelled by the British, who in 1817 restored all this country together with the Tarai to the Sikkim Raja. British relations with Sikkim had commenced at the outbreak of the war with Nepal in 1814-16. The Gurkhas commenced inroads on Sikkim as early as 1780, and when their encroachments in British territory resulted in war, they had over-run Sikkim as far eastward as the Tista River, including the Morang or Tarai at the foot of the hills. It was the object of the British Government to give all possible assistances to the Maharaja of Sikkim to expel the Gurkhas, and on the conclusion of the Nepal war the country between the Mechi and the Tista which had been wrested by the British from the Nepalese, was made over by Treaty (No.LIV) to him. The main object of this treaty was to shut out the Nepalese from the means of carrying out any views of aggrandizement to the eastward. But even then Sikkim lost the country between the Nepal boundary and the Tambur River. On the eastern portion of this tract there are still living several Lepcha families under a Lepcha Kazi.

In 1825 or 1826, one Bah-Lu or Bho-Lod, the Prime Minister of Sikkim, and maternal uncle to Raja Chug-phui Namgyel, was murdered by the latter's orders, while Bah-Lu's cousin, Yuk-Lha-Thup alias Da-Thup, fearing a similar fate, fled from Sikkim and took refuge in Nepal with some 800 of his Lepcha tribesmen. Shortly after this, disputes arose on the Sikkim and Nepal boundary which came under the cognizance of the Governor-General's Agent for the North-Eastern Frontier and the Resident in Nepal. In 1828 Captain Lloyd was deputed to the Sikkim Frontier in connection with these disputes. He penetrated the hills in company with Mr. J. W. Grant, the Commercial Resident at Malda, as far as Rinchingpung. These gentlemen, attracted by the position of Darjeeling, brought it to the notice of the Governor-General, and it was resolved by Government to open negotiations with the Maharaja of Sikkim on the first convenient occasion for the cession of Darjeeling to the British Government in return for an equivalent in lands or money. This opportunity occurred in 1834-85, when the Lepcha refugees in Nepal made an inroad into the Sikkim Tarai, and Colonel Lloyd was deputed to enquire into the causes of the disturbance. The refugees were obliged to return to Nepal, and the negotiation ended in the unconditional cession by the Maharaja of the Darjeeling tract under a Deed of Grant (No. LY) dated February 1885.

In 1841 the Government granted an allowance of Rs 3,000 per annum to the Maharaja as compensation for the cession of Darjeeling, and in 1846 a further sum of Rs.3000 per annum was granted. Thus, in all, Rs. 6,000 per annum was being paid to the Maharaja by the British Government. The settlement of Darjeeling advanced rapidly, its population having risen from not more than 100 souls in 1839 to about 10,000 in 1849, chiefly by immigration from the neighboring States of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, in all of which slavery was prevalent. There was free trade in labor and other commodities with forest land enough for all new comers to settle in, and every encouragement was given to the new arrivals. The increased importance of Darjeeling, under free institutions, was a source of early and constant jealousy and annoyance to the Diwan of the Maharaja, who

was himself the monopolist of all trade in Sikkim, and it was shared in by the Lamas and other principal people in the country who lost their rights over slaves settling as British subjects in the British territory. The play pursued was through reports and secret emissaries to frighten the new British subjects, by declaring that they would be delivered back as escaped slaves to their former masters. Added to which some British subjects were occasionally kidnapped to be sold into slavery, and there were frequent denials of aid in capturing and surrendering criminals. There had always been an arrangement for a mutual exchange of slaves between Sikkim and Bhutan, and Dr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling, was constantly importuned by the Maharaja of Sikkim and his Diwan to get the British Government to follow a similar course with Sikkim, which was of necessity steadily refused.

In 1849 Dr. Hooker and Dr. Campbell, while traveling in Sikkim with the permission of the Government and of the Maharaja, were suddenly seized and made prisoners. The object was to force Dr. Campbell to relinquish claims for the surrender of criminals; to make him, while in durance, agree to the dictation of the Diwan regarding the giving up of escaped slaves; and to detain him until these enforced conditions should be sanctioned by Government. Foiled by the declaration that whatever concessions might be extorted then would not be confirmed by Government, and intimidated by the declaration of the Governor-General that the Maharaja's own head should answer for it if a hair of the head of Dr. Campbell or Dr. Hooker were hurt, the Sikkimese eventually released the prisoners on the 24th December 1849.

In February 1850 an avenging force crossed the Great Ranjit River into Sikkim. The expedition resulted in the stoppage of the annual grant of Rs.6,000 enjoyed by the Maharaja, the annexation of the Sikkim Tarai, and of the portion of the Sikkim hills bounded by the Rammam River on the north, the Great Ranjit and the Tista on the east, and by the Nepal frontier on the west. This new territory was put under the management of the Superintendent of Darjeeling; the Diwan was ostensibly dismissed from office, and for some years matters proceeded smoothly and well between Sikkim and the British Government. But a man having acquired some degree of power through his wife an illegitimate daughter of the Maharaja resumed the kidnapping of British subjects. In April and May 1860 two aggravated cases of kidnapping were reported to the Government. All ordinary efforts to procure reparation having failed, the Governor-General in Council resolved to occupy the territory of the Maharaja lying to the north of the Rammam River and to the west of the Great Ranjit, and to retain it until the British subjects were restored until offenders give up, and a security was obtained against a recurrence of similar offences. On the 1st November 1860 the Superintendent of Darjeeling crossed the Rammam with a small force, and advanced as far as Binchingpung. But he was eventually forced to fall back on Darjeeling. A stronger force was then dispatched under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gawler, accompanied by the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, as Envoy and Special Commissioner. The force advanced to the Tista when the Sikkimese acceded to the terms dictated by the Governor-General, and on the 8th of March 1861 a new Treaty (No.LVI), consisting of twenty-three articles, was concluded by the Envoy with Maharaja Sikjong Namgyel, as his father, Maharaja Chug-phui Namgyel, though alive and in Chombi, was afraid to come over.

The annual allowance of Rs.6,000 forfeited in 1850 was in 1862 restored, as an act of grace, to the ruling Maharaja Sikjong Namgyel: it was increased in 1868, to Rs.9,000, and in 1873, to Rs.12,000, on the understanding that it was granted without any reference to the increased value of Darjeeling and purely as a mark of consideration for the Maharaja.

In 1868 the Maharaja solicited permission for the return of the Diwan but the request was refused as being contrary to the 7th article of the treaty of 1861, and likely to lead to intrigues for the succession. Neither Chug-phui nor Sikjong Raja appears to have taken much interest in the administration, and so, in consequence of their relationship by marriage and birth, first Diwan Namgay and after his banishment, in a lesser degree Changzed Kar-po became the really influential persons in the State. Diwan Namgay was anti-English in feeling and conduct, while Changzed, on the other hand pretended much sympathy for the English.

In 1873 Raja Sikjong Namgyel, accompanied by his half-brother the Raja Thothub Namgyel and his half-sister Seringputti, and Changzed Kar-po visited Sir George Campbell then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal at Darjeeling. Raja Sikjong Namgyel died in April 1874, and intrigues were attempted to set aside the accession of Thothub Namgyel in favor of Tinle NamgyeL On the death of his half-brother, Thothub married the widow, a lady of Tasbe-Thumpa. She died in child birth in 1880, leaving three children by Thothub, a daughter, Namgyel Dumo who was born in 1876, and two sons, the elder Tchoda-Namgyel, heir to the Raj who was born in 1877 and the younger Chotal who was born in 1879.

In October 1875 Sir Richard Temple had a friendly interview with the Raja and Changzed Kar-po at Chomnaga near the Cho-la pass. At this interview the Raja expressed his desire that the British Government should undertake arrangements for the conservation of the sal, pine, and other forests in his territory, but nothing was actually carried out. The Maharaja was invited to be present at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on the 1st January 1877, but as he was unable to attend, his banner, medal and ring were duly presented to him at Tumlong by Mr. John Ware Edgar (afterwards known as Hon'ble Sir John Edgar) then Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling.

Some complications, which had arisen as far back as 1872 between one Lachmi Das Pradhan, the head of the Nepalese Newars in Darjeeling, and the Lassu Kazi, the Sikkim Vakil in Darjeeling, but had been smoothed over, again became prominent in 1878, so that in November of that year the Raja and Changzed Kar-po came to Kalimpong to meet the Hon'ble Sir Ashley Eden, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The question of Nepalese settling in Sikkim was there discussed, and Nepalese settlers were admitted in certain parts under certain restrictions. This agreement, owing to the intrigues of the exiled Diwan Namgay, the Dorji Lopen of Pemionchi and Norden Gelong, Tahsildar at Kalimpong, did not work well, and events culminated in the disturbances and fight at Rhenok in 1880. Mr. A. W. Paul was then sent to settle matters at Tumlong, and a fresh

agreement was drawn up and promulgated on the 14th April 1880. This, with some slight modifications arranged by the Phodang Lama and the Dorji Lopen, worked well.

Changzed Kar-po, after a visit to Oianzi, where he met the Chinese Amban and some of the Tibetan officials died in 1879. This visit apparently took place shortly after the interview with Sir Ashley Eden, and appears to have resulted in some secret agreement with Tibet and the investiture of Thothub Namgyel with the Chinese. As stated above, Rani Pending died in 1880, and these two deaths threw the whole power of the State into the hands of the old Rani Men-chi and Diwan Namgay, who naturally, from living wholly at Chombi, favored Tibetan interests and the cause of young Tinle, then growing up to manhood.

Raja Thothub meanwhile lived peacefully at Tumlong and evinced no disposition to contract a second marriage. However, pressure seems to have been brought to bear on him, and so having obtained two elephants from the Government of Bengal in 1881, he sent them to the Grand Lamas at Tashe- Jhunpu and Lhassa, in charge of Nudup Gyaltsen (brother of the Phodang Lama) and the Rhenok Kazi. These officers, when at Lhassa, arranged a marriage between the Raja and the daughter of Shafe Utok, one of the leading men in Tibet.

Unfortunately the old Rani and her son Tinle, accompanied by Diwan Namgay, followed shortly afterwards in 1882-83 and apparently in furtherance of their design to place Tinle in direct succession to the Raj, broke off this match and secured as a wife to the Raja the daughter of an inferior officer in the Dalai Lama's court, known as Leden-se. It is said that the old Rani had to execute a bond, guaranteeing that the Raja of Sikkim would receive the girl as his Rani; but without the slightest attempt at a show of decency, the girl immediately went to live with Tinle, and by the time the party returned from Lhassa to Chombi, she was very far gone in pregnancy, and in fact bore two children before Raja Thothub ever saw her. All this helped the intrigues in favour of Tinle, as his joint-marriage with Leden-se's daughter is pointed out as proving that Thothub and Tinle are legitimate brothers, and so both of the Royal family, polyandry being permissible under Tibetan law.

Raja Thothub up to 1884 remained in Sikkim and refused to have anything to do with the girl, but in 1886 the influence of Tinle became too great, especially as the Deputy Commissioner himself approved of his going to Chombi to learn what was being done regarding the dispute between Bhutan and Tibet and the interruptions to trade. Accordingly Raja Thothub went over to Chombi nominally to pay his respects to the Shafe Rampa. Subsequently the Raja was requested to remain at Chombi, while the Macaulay Mission was in progress in 1886. In that year, after the stoppage of the Mission, the Tibetans advanced into Sikkim and built a fort at Lingtu, which they persistently refused to evacuate. The Raja remained at Chombi, notwithstanding the remonstrations of the Indian Government and the stoppage of his pension, until December 1887, when he returned to Gantok, having in the meantime made an agreement with the Tibetans at a place called Galing. In March 1888 the Sikkim Expeditionary Force was sent against Lingtu, which the Tibetans were compelled to evacuate, and in

September the campaign ended with the complete expulsion of the Tibetans across the Jelep. In December 1888 the Chinese Resident, His Excellency Shong Tai arrived at Gangtok, and negotiations were opened with a view to a settlement of the Sikkim-Tibetan dispute, but were unsuccessful, and so were formally broken off on the 11th January 1889.

On the arrival in Darjeeling of Mr. James H. Hart, of the Chinese Imperial Customs Service, fresh attempts at the solution of the British difficulties were made, and after a long interchange of views, negotiations were re-opened towards the close of 1889, and resulted in the Convention (No. LVII) signed in Calcutta on the 17th March 1890. Supplementary negotiations on the subject of trade regulations and border arrangements were in progress.

In June 1889, Mr. J. C. White, Executive Engineer, was appointed as the Assistant Political Officer at Gangtok to advise and assist the Maharaja in his administration of the country. A representative Council, selected from the chief men in Sikkim, was also established with the same view. Good roads, properly bridged throughout, have been opened from Pedong in British territory to the Jelep pass and to Tumlong. Iron bridges had also been constructed across the Tista, and communication throughout Sikkim has been very greatly improved.

During 1891, the Maharaja resided continuously at Rubdenchi; the Council was unable to induce him to return to Gangtok; and he showed little interest in the administration. In March 1892 the Maharaja secretly left Pemionchi, where he had recently been staying, with the intention of proceeding to Tibet. On entering Nepal the party was however stopped, and after communication with the Government of India, the Nepal Darbar escorted them back to British territory. The Maharaja was then informed that, as he had declined to comply with the conditions prescribed by the Government of India, he must remain out of power and under surveillance. The Members of the Council continued to render loyal support to the Assistant Political Agents and the administration was satisfactorily conducted. The Maharaja's son Tchoda-Namgyel was at that time in Tibet.

Nearly the whole of the revenue of Sikkim except that derived from graziers, was paid into the treasury in cash; in 1889-91 the total revenue was as follows:

	1880.	1880.	1881.
Land revenue	18,585	14,121	29,294
Excise	1,448	8,831	8,783
Forests	2,752	5,281	3,946
Miscellaneous	2,551	1,952	-----

The value of the registered British imports into Sikkim in 1891-92, was Rs.1,26,989 and that of the exports from Sikkim into British territory was Rs.29,20,157. These were the figures given in the frontier register; but the trade is believed to be very much larger. Exports and imports passing between British territory and Tibet through Sikkim exceeded the above figures considerably.

The area of Sikkim is about 2,818 square miles. The population according to the census taken in February 1891 was 30458 details were as under:

Lepcha	5,762
Bhutia	4,894
Limbu and other Nepalese	19,802
Total-----	30,468

There were no regular British in Sikkim. In the event of war the entire male population was bound to take up arms.

Agreement No.LIV

(The Covenant or the Agreement entered into by Captain Babre Latter, Agent on the part of His Excellency, the Knight Honorable the Earl of Moira, K.G., Governor- General and by Nazir Chaina Tenjin and Macha Teinbah and Lama Duchim Longboo, Deputies on the part of the Rajah of Sikkim being severally authorized and duly appointed for the above purposes dated 10th February 1817)

Article 1: The Honorable East India Company cedes, transfers and makes over in full sovereignty to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, his heirs or successors, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the eastward of the Mechi River and the westward of the Teesta River, formerly possessed and occupied by the Rajah of Nepal, but ceded to the Honorable East India Company by the Treaty of peace signed at Segoulee.

Articls 2: The Sikkimputtee Rajah engages for himself and successors to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against the Gorkhas or any other State.

Article 3: He will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between his subjects and those of Nepal, or any other neighboring State and to abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 4: He agrees for himself and successors to join the British Troops with the whole of his Military Force when employed within the Hills and in general to afford the British Troops every aid and facility in his power.

Article 5: He will not permit any British subject or the subject of any European and American State to reside within his dominion without the permission of the English Government.

Article 6: He will immediately seize and deliver up any dacoits or notorious offenders that may take refuge within his territories.

Article 7: He will not afford protection to any defaulters of revenue or other delinquents when demanded by the British Government through their accredited Agents.

Article 8: He will afford protection to merchants and traders from the Company's Provinces and he engages that no duties shall be levied on the transit of merchandize beyond the established custom at the several golahs or marts.

Article 9: The Honorable East India Company guarantees to the Sikkimputtee Rajah and his successors the full and peaceable possession of the tract of the hilly country specified in the first Article of the present Agreement.

Article 10: This Treaty shall be ratified and exchanged by the Sikkimputtee Rajah within one month from the present date and the counterpart and when confirmed by His Excellency, the Honorable the Governor-General, shall be transmitted to the Rajah.

Done at Titalya, this 10th day of February 1817, (the 9th of Fagoon 1873 Sumbut, and to the 30th of Maugh 1923 Bengallie)

The Agreement was ratified by the Governor-General in Council, at Fort William, this fifteenth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

(Sd.) J. Adam,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of India

In pursuance of the Agreement dated 10th February 1817, a Sunnud was granted to the Rajah of Sikkim on the 7th April 1817. The text of the Sunnud is reproduced below.

The Honorable East India Company, in consideration of the service performed by the Hill tribes under the control of the Rajah of Sikkim and of the attachment shown by him to the interest of the British Government, grants to the Sikkimpattee Rajah, his heirs and successors, all that portion of low land situated eastward of the Mechi River, and westward of the Mahanadee, formerly possessed by the Rajah of Nepal, but ceded to the Honorable East India Company by the Treaty of Segoulee, to be held by the Sikkimputtee Rajah as a feudatory, or as acknowledging the supremacy of the British Government over the said lands, subject to the following conditions;

The British Laws and Regulations will not be introduced into the territories in question, but the Sikkimputtee Rajah is authorized to make such laws and regulations for their

internal government, as are suited to the habits and customs of the inhabitants, or that may be in force in his other dominions.

The Articles or Provisions of the Treaty signed at Titalya on the 10th February 1817, and ratified by His Excellency, the Honorable the Governor-General in Council on the l5th March are to be in force with regard to the lands hereby assigned to the Sikkimputtee Rajah as far as they are applicable to the circumstances of those lands.

It will be especially incumbent on the Sikkimputtee Rajah and his officers to surrender, on application from the officers of the Honorable Company, all persons charged with criminal offences, and all public defaulters who may take refuge in the lands now assigned to him, and to allow the police officers of the British Government to pursue into those lands and apprehend all such persons.

In consideration of the distance of the Sikkimputtee Rajah's residence from the Company's Provinces, such orders as the Governor-General in Council may, upon any sudden emergency, find it necessary to transmit to the local authorities in the lands now assigned, for the security or protection of those lands, are to be immediately obeyed and carried into execution in the same manner as coming from the Sikkimputtee Rajah.

In order to prevent all disputes with regard to the boundaries of the low lands granted to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, they will be surveyed by a British Officer, and their limits accurately laid down and defined.

Agreement No.LV

(Translation of the Deed of Grant making over Darjeeling to the East India Company, dated 29th Maugh, Sumbut 1891 A.D. 1st February 1835)

The Governor-General having expressed his desire for the possession of the Hill of Darjeeling, on account of its cool climate for the purpose of enabling the servants of his Government, suffering from sickness, to avail themselves of its advantages, I, the Sikkimputtee Rajah, out of friendship to the said Governor-General hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Company that is, all the land south of the Great Runjeet River, east of the Balasor, Kahail and Little Runjeet Rivers, and west of the Rungno and Mahanadi Rivers.

(Translated)

(Sd.) A. Campbell,

(Superintendent of Darjeeling and in charge of Political relations with Sikkim)

Seal of the Rujah

Agreement No.LVI

(Treaty or Covenant or Agreement entered into by the Honorable Ashley Eden, Envoy and Special Commissioner on the part of the British Government, by virtue of full powers vested in him by the Right Honorable Charles Earl Canning, Governor-Generalal in Council, and by His Highness Maharajah of Sikkim on his own part, 1861)

Whereas the continued depredations and misconduct of the officers and subjects of the Maharajah of Sikkim, and the neglect of the Maharajah to afford satisfaction for the misdeeds of his people have resulted in an interruption for many years past of the harmony which previously existed between the British Government and the Government of Sikkim and have led ultimately to the invasion and conquest of Sikkim by a British force; and whereas the Maharajah of Sikkim has now expressed his sincere regret for the misconduct of his servants and subjects, his determination to do all in his power to obviate future misunderstandings and his desire to be again admitted into friendship and alliance with the British Government, it is hereby agreed as follows:

1. All previous Treaties made between the British Government and the Sikkim Government are hereby formally cancelled.

2. The whole of the Sikkim Territory now in the occupation of British force is restored to the Maharajah of Sikkim, and there shall henceforth be peace and amity between the two States.

3. The Maharajah of Sikkim undertakes, so far as it is within his power, to restore, within one month from the date of beginning this Treaty, all public properties which were abandoned by the detachment of British Troops at Rincin-pong.

4. In indemnification of the expenses incurred in I860 by the British Government in occupying a portion of the territory of Sikkim as a means of enforcing just claims which had been evaded by the Government of Sikkim, and as compensation to the British subjects who were pillaged and kidnapped by subjects of Sikkim, the Sikkim Government agrees to pay to the British authorities at Darjeeling the sum of Rs.7,000 (Rupees seven thousand only) in the following installments, that is to say:

May Ist, 1861 – Rs.1,000

Nov. Ist, 1861 – Rs.3,000

May Ist, 1862 – Rs.3,000

As security for the due payment of this amount, it is further agreed that in the event of any of these installments not being duly paid on the date appointed, the Government of Sikkim shall make over to the British Government that portion of its territory bounded on the south by the River Rummam, on the east by the Great Runjeet River, on the north by a line from the Great Runjeet to the Singaleelah Range, including the monasteries of

Taasiding, Pemonchi and Chanuracheling, and on the west by the Singaleelah -Mountain Range, and the British Government shall retain possession of this territory and collect the revenue thereof, until the full amount, with all expenses of occupation and collection, and interest at 6 per cent, per annum, are realized.

5. The Government of Sikkim engages that its subjects shall never again commit depredations on British territory, or kidnap or otherwise molest British subjects. In the event of any such depredation or kidnapping taking place, the Government of Sikkim undertakes to deliver up all persons engaged in such malpractice, as well as the Sardars or other Chiefs conniving at or benefiting thereby.

6. The Government of Sikkim will at all times seize and deliver up any criminals, defaulters, or other delinquents who may have taken refuge within its territory, on demand being duly made in writing by the British Government through their accredited agents. Should any delay occur in complying with such demand, the Police of the British Government may follow the person whose surrender has been demanded into any part of the Sjkkim territory, and shall, on showing a warrant, duly signed by the British Agent, receive every assistance and protection in the prosecution of their object from the Sikkim officers.

7. In as much as the late misunderstandings between the two Governments have been mainly fomented by the acts of the ex-Dewan Namguay, the Government of Sikkim engages that neither the said Namguay, nor any of his blood relations, shall ever again be allowed to set foot in Sikkim, or to take part in the councils of, or hold any office under the Maharajah or any of the Maharajah's family at Chombi.

8. The Government of Sikkim from this date abolishes all restrictions on travelers and monopolies in trade between the British territories and Sikkim. There shall henceforth be a free reciprocal intercourse, and full liberty of commerce between the subjects of both countries; it shall be lawful for British subjects to go into any part of Sikkim for the purpose of travel or trade, and the subjects of all countries shall be permitted to reside in and pass through Sikkim, and to expose their goods for sale at any place and in any manner that may best suit their purpose, without any interference whatever, except as is hereinafter provided.

9. The Government of Sikkim engages to afford protection to all travelers, merchants or traders of all countries, whether residing in, trading in, or passing through Sikkim. If any merchant, traveler, or trader, being a European British subject, shall commit any offence contrary to the laws of Sikkim, such person shall be punished by the representative of the British Government resident at Darjeeling, and the Sikkim Government will at once deliver such offender over to the British authorities for this purpose, and will, on no account, detain such offender in Sikkim on any pretext or pretence whatever. All other British subjects residing in the country to be liable to the laws of Sikkim; but such persons shall, on no account, be punished with loss of limb or maiming or torture and every case of punishment of a British subject shall be at once reported to Darjeeling.

10. No duties or fees of any sort shall be demanded by the Sikkim Government of any person or persons on account of goods exported into the British territories from Sikkim, or imported into Sikkim from the British territories.

11. On all goods passing into or out of Thibet, Bhootan or Nepaul, the Government of Sikkim may levy a duty of customs according to such a scale as may, from time to time, be determined and published without reference to the destination of the goods, provided, however, that such duty shall, on no account, exceed 5 per cent, on the value of goods at the time and place of the levy of duty. On the payment of the duty aforesaid a pass shall be given exempting such goods from liability to further payment on any account whatever.

12. With the view to protect the Government of Sikkim from fraud on account of undervaluation for assessment of duty, it is agreed that the customs officers shall have the option of taking over for the Government any goods at the value affixed on them by the owner.

I3. In the event of the British Government desiring to open out a road through Sikkim with the view of encouraging trade, the Sikkim Government will raise no objection thereto, and will afford every protection and aid to the party engaged in the work. If a road is constructed, the Government of Sikkim undertakes to keep it in repair, and to erect and maintain suitable travelers' rest-houses throughout its route.

14. If the British Government desires to make either a topographical or geological survey of Sikkim, the Sikkim Government will raise no objection to this being done, and will afford protection and assistance to the officers employed in this duty.

15. In as much as many of the late misunderstandings have had their foundation in the custom which exists in Sikkim of dealing in slaves, the Government of Sikkim binds itself, from this date, to punish severely any person trafficking in human beings or seizing persons for the purpose of using them as slaves.

16. Henceforth the subjects of Sikkim may transport themselves without any hindrance to any country to which they may wish to remove. In the same way the Government of Sikkim has authority to permit the subjects of other countries not being criminals or defaulters, to take refuge in Sikkim.

17. The Government of Sikkim engages to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against any of the neighboring States which are allies of the British Government. If any disputes or questions arise between the people of Sikkim and those of neighboring States, such disputes or questions shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, and the Sikkim Government agrees to abide by the decision of the British Government.

18. The whole military force of Sikkim shall join and afford every aid and facility to British Troops when employed in the Hills.

19. The Government of Sikkim will not cede or lease any portion of its territory to any other State without the permission of the British Government.

20. The Government of Sikkim engages that no armed force belonging to any other country shall pass through Sikkim without the sanction of the British Government.

21. Seven of the criminals, whose surrender was demanded by the British Government, having fled from Sikkim and taken refuge in Bhootan, the Government of Sikkim engages to do all in its power to obtain the delivery of those persons from the Bhootan Government, and in the event of any of these men again returning to Sikkim, the Sikkim Government binds itself to seize them, and to make them over to the British Authorities at Darjeeling without delay.

22. With a view to the establishment of an efficient Government in Sikkim and to the better maintenance of friendly relations with the British Government, the Maharajah of Sikkim agrees to remove the seat of his Government from Tibet to Sikkim, and reside there for nine months in the year. It is further agreed that a Vakeel shall be accredited by the Sikkim Government, who shall reside permanently at Darjeeling.

23. This Treaty consisting of twenty-three Articles, being settled and concluded by the Honorable Ashley Eden, British Envoy and His Highness Sekeong Kuzoo Sikkimputtee, Maharajah, at Tumloong, this 28th day of March 1861, corresponding with 17th Dao Neepoo 61. Mr. Eden has delivered to the Maharajah a copy of the same in English, with translation in Nagri and Bhootiah, under the seal and signature of the said Honorable Ashley Eden and His Highness the Sikkimputtee Maharajah, and the Sikkimputtee Maharajah has in like manner delivered to the said Hon'ble Ashley Eden another copy also in English, with translation in Nagri and Bhootiah, bearing the seal of His Highness and the said Hon'ble Ashley Eden. The Envoy engages to procure the delivery to His Highness, within six weeks from this date, of a copy of this Treaty, duly ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council and this Treaty shall in the meantime be in full force.

Seal

(Sd.) Sekeong Kuzoo Sikkimputtee

Sd/
(Ashley Eden)

Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council at Calcutta on the sixteenth day of April 1861

(Sd.) C. U. AlTCHlSON,

Under-Secretay to the Government of India

Agreement No.LVII

(Convention between Great Britain and China relating to Sikkim and Tibet -1890)

Whereas Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Empress of India and His Majesty the Emperor of China, are sincerely desirous to maintain and perpetuate the relations of friendship and good understanding which now exists between their respective Empires;

And whereas recent occurrences have tended towards a disturbance of the said relations, and it is desirable to clearly define and permanently settle certain matters connected with the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet, Her Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the Emperor of China have resolved to conclude a Convention on this subject and have, for this purpose named friend-potentates, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, His Excellency the Most Honorable Henry Charles Keith Petty Fitzmaurice, O.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., Q.M.I.E.I. Marquess of Lansdowne, Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

And His Majesty the Emperor of China, His Excellency Shong Tai, Imperial Associate Resident in Tibet, Military Deputy Lieutenant-Governor who having met and communicated to each other their fall powers, and finalize these to be in proper form have agreed upon the following Convention in eight Articles:

1. The boundary of Sikkim and Tibet shall be the crest of the mountain range separating the waters flowing into the Sikkim Teesta and its affluence from the waters flowing into the Tibetan Monchu and northwards into other rivers of Tibet. The line commences at Mount Gimpochi on the Bhutan frontier and follows the abovementioned water-parting to the point where it meets Nepal territory.

2. It is admitted that the British Government, whose protectorate over the Sikkim State is hereby recognized, has direct and exclusive control over the internal administration and foreign relations of that State, and except through and with the permission of the British Government, neither the Ruler of the State nor any of its officers shall have official relations of any kind, formal or informal, with any other country.

3. The Government of Great Britain and Ireland and the Government of China engage reciprocally to respect the boundary as defined in Article 1, and to prevent acts of aggression from their respective sides of the frontier.

4. The question of providing increased facilities for trade across the Sikkim-Tibet frontier will hereafter be discussed with a view to a mutually satisfactory arrangement by the High Contracting Powers.

5. The question of pasturage on the Sikkim side of the frontier is reserved for further examination and future adjustment.

6. The High Contracting Powers reserve for discussion and arrangement the method in which official communications between the British authorities in India and the authorities in Tibet shall be conducted.

7. Two Joint Commissioners shall, within six months from the ratification of this Convention, be appointed, one by the British Government in India, the other by the Chinese Resident in Tibet. The said Commissioners shall meet and discuss the questions which by the last three preceding Articles have been reserved.

8. The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as possible after the date of the signature thereof.

In witness whereof the respective negotiators have signed the same and affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done in quadruplicate at Calcutta this seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety, corresponding with the Chinese date the twenty-seventh day of the second moon of the sixteenth year of Kuang Hsii.

(Sd.) Lansdowne

Chinese Seal and Signature

4. Bhutan

No. VII

Bhutan is a State of Tibetan origin, situate in the Eastern Himalayas. There is no reliable history and very little tradition regarding the origin of the Bhutan Government. Apparently immigrants from the Tibetan province of Khams occupied the country at least four centuries ago, but priests or Lamas, from Tibet had probably obtained a footing there even earlier. The form of Government, consisting in a dual control as represented by the Dharma and Deb Rajas, dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. The first Dharma Raja is said to have been Shabdung Nag-kwang Nam Gyel (Nawang Nam Gyel) a brother or cousin of the Tibetan saint Duk Kinle, who was born about 1569. The earlier portion of Nawang Nam Gyel's life was spent in Tibet, where he married and had children, but being warned in a dream to go south and take up his adopted country, the Lama entered Bhutan and settled for three years at Tsari-Ta-go Dorjeden. He afterwards moved to the Funakha valley, which he made his head-quarters. He appointed one Desi Amged as his minister, who thus became the first Deb Raja. After his death Nawang Nam Gyel appeared in three separate incarnations; thus his body became the second Dharma Raja Ngag-Wang-Jigme Grag-pa; his voice appeared in the person of Ngag-Wang Sakya Tenzing, while his mind returned to Khams, where its incarnations have continued.

Nawang Nam Gyel had a son, Jam-phul Dorje, who became a celibate and incarnate Lama; and his incarnations are called Tas-Go Khri Rimpoche, to distinguish them from the successors of Nawang Sakya Tenzing, who are called the "Thi" Lamas, or Lam Thipa. Nawang Nam Gyel appointed Fenlos and Jaogpens, officials corresponding to Commissioners of Divisions, to administer the country, and kept them under complete control. On his death he was succeeded by his supposed incarnation. The new Dharma Raja, when he grew up, considering that temporal and spiritual powers were incompatible, confined himself entirely to the latter, and appointed a minister to wield the former. This minister by degrees became the Deb Raja and temporal ruler of Bhutan. The Deb Raja is chosen mostly, by election from time to time from among certain great functionaries of the State; the Dharma Raja holds his office for life. The next noticeable event in Bhutan history is the outbreak of hostilities with Sikkim. The third Raja of Sikkim, Cha-dhor Nam Gyel, was born in 1686 and succeeded his father about 1700. In his youth he appears to have mortally offended his half sister Pending Amo. On his accession the quarrel broke out again and Pending Amo invited the Bhutanese to invade Sikkim and expel her brother. Accordingly the Deb Raja of Bhutan sent a force which overran Sikkim, occupied the palace and compelled Raja Cha-dhor to fle to Tibet. The date of this invasion is variously given as from 1700 to 1706 and the Bhutanese appear to have held Sikkim for five or six years. On Raja Cha-dhor's return from Tibet the Bhutanese retired and evacuated all Sikkim west of the Tista river, but still continued to maintain their position at Fort Damsong, and to occupy what is now the Kalimpong sub-division, and the country between the De-chu and the Tegong-la range. In 1770 the Bhutanese again invaded Sikkim, but were utterly defeated and their troops annihilated.

The first intercourse of the British Government with Bhutan commenced with the expedition sent in 1778 for the relief of the Raja of Kuch Behar. The Bhutanese, driven out of Kuch Behar and pursued into the hills, threw themselves on the protection of Tibet. The Tashe Lama, then Regent of Tibet, and guardian of the Grand Lama of Lhassa, addressed the Government of India on their behalf. The application was favorably received and a Treaty of peace (No. LVIII) was concluded on the 25th April 1774, by which the Bhutanese agreed to pay to the British Government an annual tribute of five Tangan horses, to deliver up the Raja of Kuch Behar, and never to make any incursions into British territory or molest the rayats in any way.

Except two unsuccessful commercial missions in 1774 and 1783, there was little intercourse with Bhutan until British occupation of Assam which connected the British and Bhutan frontiers. With the annexation of Assam there commenced a continued series of aggressions by the Bhutanese on British territory, followed by reprisals on the part of the British Government and by the occupation of the Duars, or passes, which lie at the foot of the Bhutan Hills. They were the following;

Bengal Duars

i. Dalim Khata,
ii. Jamar Khote,
iii. Chimurshi,
iv. Luki,

v. Bhulka,
vi. Baro,
vii. Guma,
viii. Ripu,
ix. Buxa
x. Chidli (Chirang).
xi. Bagh Duar

Assam Duars

i. Bijni,
ii. Chapakhamar,
iii. Chapaguri,
iv. Baska,
v. Gurukhola,
vi. Kuling and
vii. Buriguma.

Duars, which extend from the Tista, on the eastern boundary of Sikkim, to the Dhansiri River on the east, the Bhutanese for many years held sovereign dominion; and, previous to the annexation of Assam by the British Government during the first Burmese war, they had also wrested four of the Assam Duars from the Native Government, while the other three were held on a sort of joint tenure by the Bhutanese and Assamese. The tribute for these seven Duars, including the tarai tract below them, was paid in kind, fixed at the value of Rs.5,049. The Kamrup Duars under this arrangement remained in the hands of the Bhutanese all the year round, but the Darrang Duars were annually surrendered to the Assamese Government from July to November. This anomalous provision led to trouble; while a further and endless source of dispute arose from the fact that the tribute was paid in kind, while its value was fixed in specie.

After the annexation of Assam, the tribute was paid to the British Government, who also continued the system of joint occupation of the three Duars of Kuriapara, Buri Guma, and Kalling. Under the British Government the character of the tenure and the mode of paying tribute were constant sources of irritation and quarrel. In 1828 outrages by the Jongpen of Buri Guma resulted in the attachment of that Duar by the Government; but in 1864 it was restored on the payment of a fine. Fresh outrages in the Bijni Duar in the following year, coupled with a refusal to pay the current tribute, were answered by threats of attachment, which, however, were not carried out. Wanton incursions from the Baska Duar in 1836 led to its attachment and ultimately to armed collision with the Bhutanese. In 1887 Captain Pemberton was sent on a mission to the Deb and Dharma Rajas, but his deputation failed to secure any effectual or permanent settlement.

In 1841, in consequence of renewed aggressions and of the increasing disorganization of the country, the seven Assam Duars, comprising some 1,600 square miles in area, were annexed to the British possessions, and it was agreed a sum of Rs.10,000 should be annually paid to the Chiefs as compensation: this sum was considered equivalent to one-third of the revenue of the Kamrup and Darrang Duars. No written agreement was made

regarding this arrangement. These Duars were later placed under the control of the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

A similar arrangement under a written engagement (No.LIX) was made in 1844 with the Bhutia communities dependent on the Towang Raja, and a sum of Rs.5,000 a year, representing one-third of the net revenue, was fixed as compensation for the resumption of the Kuriapara Duar.

These measures proved effectual as regards the country lying under this portion of the Bhutan hills. But along the Bengal section of the Duars outrage followed upon outrage. At length in 1854 the Darbar sent a rude intimation that the compensation paid for the loss of the Assam Duars was insufficient and must be increased. The natural refusal of the Government of India to listen to this demand was followed by Bhutanese raids on Assam. Lord Dalhousie intimated to the Darbar that in future all properties plundered by the Bhutanese would be deducted from the annual payment on account of the Assam Duars, and that further outrage would lead to the permanent annexation of the Duars on the Bengal side. These threats however, produced no lasting effects, acts of kidnapping and plunder continued; and in 1859-60, the territory known as the Ambari Fallakotta on this side the Tista, which was held in farm from Bhutan, was taken possession of, the terms under which it would be restored being fully explained to the Deb Baja. As these outrages did not cease, and as the usurpations of the frontier Governors made it doubtful whether letters to the Bhutan Government were not intercepted, the Deb and Dharma Rajas were informed that a mission would be sent to explain the demands of the British Government, the consequences of not acceding to them, and the terms of the treaty with the Raja of Sikkim, whom Bhutan authorities had threatened with attack under the pretence that the Ambari Fallakotta rents had been withheld owing to the rupture between him and the British Government. After a year's delay, caused by the evasive replies of the Bhutan Government, the mission started in December 1863.

The Envoy, the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, reached the capital, Punakha, on the I5th of March 1864, where he found the Deb and Dharma Rajas puppets in the hands of the Tongsa Fenlo, the successful head of an insurrection which had lately taken place. By this man, who refused to treat except on condition of the restoration of the Assam Duars, the mission were subjected to gross outrage and insult; with difficulty they obtained permission to return after the Envoy had signed under compulsion an agreement that the British Government would re-adjust the whole boundary between the two countries, restore the Assam Duars, deliver up all runaway slaves and political offenders who had taken refuge in British territory, and consent to be punished by the Bhutan and Kuch Behar Governments acting together if they ever made encroachments on Bhutan.

The engagement which had been extorted from the Envoy was at once repudiated by the British Government; and, as a punishment for the treatment to which the mission had been subjected, the Ambari Fallakotta declared (No. LX) to be permanently annexed to the British dominion; the payment of revenue to Bhutan from the Assam Duars was stopped forever; and the Bhutan Government were informed that if the demands of the British Government were not complied with by the 1st September 1864 such further

measures as might appear necessary would be adopted to enforce them. No steps having been taken, within the time specified to comply with these demands, the Bengal Duars were permanently annexed (No.LXI) to the British territories, and the districts were occupied in force by British troops.

Within a few months, the Bhutan Government made overtures for peace and asked for the restoration of the Duars. They were informed that the Duars could not be restored; that if they were sincerely desirous of peace and would consent to the conditions laid down by the British Government, peace would be granted; but that if they delayed and an advance on Punakha became necessary much more stringent terms would be exacted. Preliminary negotiations were accordingly opened, and during their continuance hostilities were suspended. The principal conditions offered to the Bhutan Government were that they should surrender all British subjects and all subjects of Kuch Behar and Sikkim detained in Bhutan against their will; that they should subscribe articles for the mutual extradition of criminals, the maintenance of free trade, and the arbitration by the British Government of all disputes between the Bhutan Government and the Chiefs of Kuch Behar and Sikkim; that they should cede to the British Government the whole of the Duars, together with certain hill posts protecting the passes into Bhutan; that they should deliver up two British guns which had been lost at Diwangiri, return the agreement they had extorted from the Envoy, and apologize for the insult offered to the British Government in the person of the Envoy; and that, in consideration of the fulfil1ment of these terms, the British Government would pay to the Bhutan Government from the revenues of the Duars an annual sum beginning with Rupees 25,000 and rising to Rupees 50,000. The treaty extorted from the Envoy was given up and an apology was tendered for the insults offered to him, but as the guns which had been lost were in possession of the Tongsa Penlo, who had not signified his adherence to the terms, a separate Agreement (No.LXII) was concluded, providing that no payment would be made to the Bhutan Government until the guns were actually restored. They were eventually surrendered on the 25th February 1866. The permanent arrangements effected were recorded in a Treaty (No.LXIII) concluded on the 11th November 1865; and by the Proclamation (No.LXIV) of the 4th July 1866, the Duars were declared to be annexed to the territories of Her Majesty the Queen. The gross revenues of these districts at the time of cession were estimated at Rupees 1,50,000. Tshang Sithakh was at this time the Deb Raja: the treaty is called by the Bhutanese the ten article treaty of Ba-wa-Pang or Fani.

In accordance with the provisions of article 5 of the treaty of 1865, payment of the allowance to the Bhutan Government was temporarily withheld in 1868, in consequence of the Bhutanese having put a stop to intercourse between Bhutan and Buxa, and of their having disregarded the provisions of article 4 by sending an officer of inferior rank to receive the annual payment. In 1869 dissensions broke out among the Bhutanese Chiefs and have since been of frequent occurrence, but the British Government has held itself aloof from the complications of Bhutan politics.

The only powerful Deb Raja who reigned for many years was Jigme Nam Gyel, who, as Fenlo of Tongsa, was so hostile to the British mission of 1864. After an unusually long reign for a ruler of Bhutan, he retired in 1873 in favor of his brother Gantem Nam Gyel

who came to Buxa to meet the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in 1875; this was the first occasion on which a Deb Raja ever entered British India, or met one of the English Governors. Jigme Nam Gyel's retirement was however no more than nominal. He continued to decide everything of importance. At the beginning of 1877 the pretensions of a rival claimant caused a civil war, and for about seven months the rebels gained ground. On this Jigme Nam Gyel came forward again, resumed the supreme authority, and in a short time defeated the insurgents. Soon after, however, he once more retired in favor of Gantem Nam Gyel, who ruled till March 1879, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Shujah Nam Gyel.

At the end of the civil war of 1877, two Chiefs of the insurgents' party, the Penlo of Paro and the Jongpen of Funakha, with a few followers, took refuge in British territory. They were disarmed on arrival at Buxa, and eventually settled in the Darjeeling Hills for nearly two years, until a change in political affairs allowed of their return to Bhutan. One of the Chiefs however, died in exile. The party arrived in a state of destitution and received from Government compassionate grants in cash and land for cultivation on condition of their abstaining from intrigues in Bhutan. The Deb Raja asked for their surrender which was refused as they were merely political offenders and the treaty did not allow of it.

In March 1880 a raid was committed by a Suba on a British village, Chunbati, near Buxa on the frontier, the object being the recovery of some persons who had escaped from slavery in Bhutan and settled in British territory. Six persons were carried off, and ten of the raiders being satisfactorily identified, a demand was made for the restoration of the captives and the offender of the raiders in accordance with the treaty. The Deb Raja delayed and made excuses. He was consequently told that the annual subsidy paid to the Bhutan Government on condition of good behavior would be withheld till he complied with our demands. While the matter was pending two of the captives escaped and returned to Buxa, and eventually, on finding that the subsidy would not be otherwise paid, the remaining captives and eight out of ten raiders were delivered at Buxa in July 1881, one raider having died and another escaped on the road. The raiders were convicted, and the sentences passed were upheld by the High Court on appeal.

Shujah Nam Gyel ruled till June 1880, when he died after an illness of three months. The Jongpen of Punakha put forward a relative named Lamchen, another Jongpen, for the throne, but Jigme Nam Gyel, distrusting this candidate, again came forward and succeeded in securing his own re-election as Deb Raja. He seems to have been unwilling to discharge the ordinary duties of the Deb Raja, but determined to be the real temporal sovereign in all matters of importance, and so, whenever he was unable to secure the election of a candidate who would be in his hands, Jigme Nam Gjel reigned in person. He died in July 1881, from the effects of a fall when riding a yak, and Lamchen, then about 45 years of age, succeeded him.

Shortly after this the retired Deb Raja Gantem Nam Gyel died. Lamchen appears to have reigned peacefully till May 1883, when, in consequence of ill health, he resigned and died a few days afterwards. Gan-Zang, a nephew on the mother's side of his immediate predecessor, was then elected Deb Raja without opposition on the 16th May 1888. He

seems to have relied as much on the two principal Chiefs, the Penlos of Paro and Tongsar as did the Deb Rajas at the time of Sir Ashley Eden's mission.

Deb Lamchen, out of friendship to Deb Jigme Nam Gyel (Nago) appears to have appointed Tinle, the latter's eldest son, to be Paro Penlo and the younger brother Ujen Angchu (or Angdu) Jongpen of Angdu Phodang. On the murder of his uncle, the Tongsar Fenlo, Ujen succeeded and has been Tongsar Penio ever since. In 1883 Tinle, Paro Penlo, attacked Phari in Tibet and seized the Tibetan Jongpen: this outrage led to the Mission of the Shafe Rampa and a Chinese Popen to Paro in July 1885. Shortly after his return from Phari, Tinle broke his leg and died in 1884 at his brother's place in Tongsar.

In October 1884 quarrels broke out between the Tongsar Penlo (Ujen Angchu) and Alu Dorzi, Thimpu Jongpen, on account of the latter withholding Tongsar's share of the British subsidy. This resulted in Tongsar capturing Simtokha Fort about the 14th May 1885. A fortnight later the contending parties held a meeting to consider terms; but at this meeting Tongsar's adherents treacherously attacked the opposite party, killed some of Thimpu's adherents and wounded the Punakha Jongpen. Shortly after, in July the Thimpu Jongpen and others fled to Tibet and asked for help.

On the 23rd August 1885 Deb Gan-Zang had to retire and was succeeded by Tongsar's nominee, Pang Sangye Dorzi, a learned Lama who is commonly known as 'Eapen Loben', or ‘Yanpe Lopen’. In March 1886 there was another joint Tibetan and Chinese Mission to Paro which settled certain terms of agreement between the Tongsar Penlo and Alu-Dorzy, the ex-Thimpu Jongpen. But the disagreement between India and Tibet regarding Lingtu shortly afterwards breaking out, these terms were never carried into effect. The Paro Penlo paid the Political Officer, Mr. A. W. Paul, a visit at Kalimpong in March 1889. About this time, Deb Yanpe resigned and the Tongsar Penlo retained the whole power. During the Sikkim Expedition Alu Dorzi is suspected of having actively aided the Tibetans in the fight at Onatong on the 22nd May 1889 and of having remained with them during the rest of the campaign: he was in receipt of a small pension. In 1889, in consequence of outrages committed on villages situated in the north of the Kamrup district of Assam, the Bhutan subsidy was temporarily stopped and as the warnings issued to the Deb Raja produced little or no effect, it was determined in February 1892 to establish a police post at Kakolabari for the protection of British subjects and to deduct from the annual subsidy payable in January 1892 all expenses incurred on account of this outpost.

There is no accurate information in regard to the area, population or the revenue of Bhutan. The population was estimated by Sir Ashley Eden at 50,000. The revenue is not known. The value of the registered trade with British territory in 1891-92 was:

Imports from Bhutan ---- Rs.1,84,892
Exports to Bhutan ---- Rs.1,34.848

Total:- Rs.3,19,740

Agreement No.LV

(Articles of a the agreement between the Honorable East India Company and the Deb Rajah or Rajah of Bhutan, 1774)

1st: That the Honorable Jongpen wholly for consideration for the distress to which the Bhootans represented themselves to be reduced, and from the desire of living in peace with their neighbors, will relinquish all the lands which belonged to the Deb Rajah before the commencement of the war with the Rajah of Cooch Behar, namely, to the eastward, the lands of Chitchacotta and Pangola-haut and to the westward, the lands of Kyruntee, Marragaut and Luekypoor.

2nd: That for the possession of the Chitchacotta Province, the Deb Rajah shall pay an annual tribute of five Taugun horses to the Honorable Company, which was the acknowledgement paid to the Cooch Behar Rajah.

3rd: That the Deb Rajah shall deliver up Dhujinder Narain Rajah of Cooch Behar, together with his brother the Dewan Deo, who is confined with him.

4th: That the Bhootias, being merchants, shall have the same privilege of trade as formerly, without the payment of duties, and their caravan shall be allowed to go to Rungpoor annually,

5th: That the Deb Rajah shall never cause incursions to be made into the country, nor in any respect whatever molest the ryots that have come under the Honorable Company's subjection.

6th: That if any ryot or inhabitant whatever shall desert from the Honorable Company's territories, the Deb Rajah shall cause him to be delivered up immediately upon application being made for him.

7th: That in case the Bhootias, or any one under the government of the Deb Rajah, shall have any demands upon, or disputes with any inhabitant of these or any part of the Company's territories, they shall prosecute them only by an application to the Magistrate, who shall reside here for the administration of justice.

8th: That whereas the Sunnyasies are considered by the English as enemies, the Deb Rajah shall not allow any body of them to take shelter in any part of the districts now given up, nor permit them to enter the Honorable Company's territories, or through any part of his, and if the Bhootias shall not of themselves be able to drive them out, they shall give information to the Resident, on the part of the English, in Cooch Behar, and they shall not consider the English troops pursuing the Sunnyasies into those districts any breach of this Treaty.

9th: That in case the Honorable Company shall have occasion for cutting timber from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty free and the people they send shall be protected.

10th: That there shall be a mutual release of prisoners.

This Treaty to be signed by the Honorable Governor General in Council of Bengal, etc., and the Honorable Company's seal to be affixed on the one part and be signed and sealed by the Deb Rajah on the other part.

Signed and ratified at Fort William, the 25th April 1774.

(Signed) Warrbn Hastings.

Seal

Agreement No.LIX

(An Agreement entered into by Changjoi Satrajah, Seeng Satrajah, Cheeng Dundoo Satrajah of Naregoon and Tong Dabee Rajah, Chang Dunboo Bhamee, Foonjai Bhameb, qI Tabhal Tooboom, dated 24th Maug 1250 B. S. - 1844)

It having been ordered by His Lordship the Governor-General in Council that we should be allowed annually one-third of the whole of the proceeds of Koreeahpara Duar, viz., Rs.5,000, we voluntarily pledge ourselves to adhere to the following terms most strictly:

1st: We pledge ourselves to be satisfied now and for ever, with the above mentioned sum of 5000 Rupees and relinquish all right over any proceeds that may accrue from the Duar.

2nd: In our trade, we pledge ourselves to confine our dealings to the established market places at Oodalgooree and Mongaldoi and never interfere with the ryots, neither will we allow any of our Booteahs to commit any act of oppression.

3rd: We have relinquished all power in the Duar, and can not levy any rent from the ryots.

4th: We agree to apply to the British Courts at Mongaldoi for redress in all our grievances in their Territories.

5th: Should we ever infringe any of the foregoing terms we shall forfeit our right to the above pension.

(True translation)
Frans Jenkins,
Agent, Governor General

Memorandum No.LX

(Memorandum and/or Notice dated the 9th June 1864, to His Highness the Deb Rajah from Simla)

You are well aware that for many years past wanton outrages have been committed by your subjects within the territories of the British Government and within the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, who are under British protection. Men, women, and children have been kidnapped and sold into slavery; some have been put to death; others have been cruelly wounded; and much valuable property has been carried off or destroyed. These outrages, it is well known, are not the act of individual criminals, who set the laws of Bhootan at defiance; they are perpetrated with the knowledge and at the instigation of some of the leading Chiefs of Bhootan. Over a period of thirty-six years, these aggressions have extended. Many remonstrations have been in vain addressed to the Bhootan Government, and the British Government has been compelled, in its own defence and the defence of its protected and subordinate allies, to have recourse to measures of retribution. In 1828 and 1836 the British Government were most reluctantly forced to occupy the Booree Gooma and the Banska Duars,, but these districts were subsequently restored to the Bhootan Government in the hope that the Bhootan Government would fulfill the offices of friendship towards their neighbor by restraining their subjects from the commission of such aggressions for the future. This hope proved illusory, and after the British Government had in vain endeavored to secure a better understanding with the Bhootan Government in a friendly mission, it became necessary in 1841 to annex permanently to the British dominions the seven Assam Duars, a measure which, it was believed, would convince the Bhootan Government that British territory cannot with impunity be persistently and wantonly violated. Nevertheless, the British Government, willing to believe in the friendship of your Government and careful only to secure an undisturbed frontier and to live at peace with the people of Bhootan paid to your Government annually a sum of Rupees 10,000 from the revenues of these Duars.

But even this moderation on the part of the British Government, this sign of its anxiety above all things for peace was misunderstood. Outrages did not cease. Precautions had to be taken for the defence of the British frontier and not only the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs but the local Governors on the frontier, particularly the Tongsa Penlo, had to be distinctly warned that unless these insults to the British Government were put a stop to, the British Government would have no alternative but to resort to further measures of retribution.

These warnings were ineffectual; it is unnecessary to repeat the numerous acts of aggression to which the British Government patiently submitted, and the further remonstrations which were addressed to your Government before they carried their threats into execution by the stoppage of the rent of Rupees 2,000 a year for the Ambaree Fallacottah, which the British Government held in farm. Of the reasons which forced the British Government to this measure, your Government were duly informed, and you were warned that the rents of Ambaree Fallacottah would not be paid until full reparation should be made, captives released, and the guilty parties punished. These measures also

proved ineffectual; and as the British Government were unwilling to be committed to a course of retributive coercion, it was determined to make one effort more by peaceful negotiation and the dispatch of a friendly mission to explain fully the demands of the British Government and to put the relations of the two Governments on a satisfactory footing. Of this intention the Bhootan Government were informed by a special messenger, who carried letters to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs and by more recent letters addressed to you by the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The mission, under the conduct of the Honorable Ashley Eden, a high functionary of the British Government and my Envoy and Plenipotentiary, reached your Court at Poonakha on I5th March 1861. Mr. Eden was the bearer of a Draft Treaty which he was instructed to negotiate with you. The terms of that Treaty were so just and reasonable, and so favorable to the best interests of both Governments, that I did not anticipate its rejection, more especially as Mr. Eden had full discretion to modify any of the details not inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty to meet the wishes of the Bhootan Government. It was of course, optional with you to accept or reject this Treaty in whole or in part, and had you received my Envoy in the manner suited to his rank as my representative, and as by the usages of nations he ought to have been received, but declared your inability to accede to the demands of the British Government, this rejection of my proposals, however much to be regretted as forcing the British Government to coercive measures for the protection of the persons and property of its subjects, would not in itself have been an offence.

But you are aware that not only have the just demands of the British Government been refused, but they have been refused in a manner disgraceful to yourself and to your Durbar and insulting to the British Government. Not only has the Envoy deputed to your Court not been received well with the dignity due to his rank; he has not even received that protection from personal insult and violence which is extended to an Envoy by the laws of all nations save the most barbarous. By the Tongsa Penlo and his coadjutors in Council the letter addressed to you on the part of the British Government has been treated with contept; my Envoy was publicly insulted and derided in your own presence, and has been compelled under threats of personal violence to sign an engagement agreement to restore the Assam Duars.

This engagement I entirely repudiate, not only because it was beyond Mr. Eden's instructions to agree to any such terms, but because the engagement was extorted from him by personal violence and threats of imprisonment. The treatment to which the mission which was deputed to your Court to remove all causes of dispute by peaceful negotiation was subjected, has been so disgraceful that the British Government cannot allow the Government of Bhootan to go unpunished.

I am aware that your authority has been usurped by the Tongsa Penlo and other Chiefs, but it cannot be permitted that for the insubordination of your Chiefs and the internal distractions which weaken the Government of Bhootan, the subjects of the British Government should suffer and the Envoy of the British Government should be insulted and maltreated.

I therefore inform yon that the district of Ambaree Fallacottah heretofore held in rent from the Bhootan Government, is permanently annexed to the British dominions, and that all payments of rent from that district and of revenues from the Assam Duars to the Bhootan Government have ceased for ever. You have been informed both in writing and by my Envoy that all British subjects of Cooch Behar and Sikkim, of whom there are said to be more than three hundred, who are now held captive by your Chiefs and in your monasteries, or are detained in Bhootan against their will, must be released, and that the property which has been carried off from British territory or Cooch Behar or Sikkim within the last five years, must be restored. I now warn you that, unless these demands are fully complied with by the 1st day of September next, that is, three months from this date, I shall take such further measures to enforce these demands as may seem to me to be necessary.

(Sd.) John L. Bruce.

No. LXI

Proclamation -1864

For many years past outrages have been committed by subjects of the Bhootan Government within British territory, and in the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar. In these outrages property has been plundered and destroyed, lives have been taken, and many innocent persons have been carried into and are still held in captivity. The British Government, ever sincerely desirous of maintaining friendly relations with neighboring States, and specially mindful of the obligations imposed on it by the Treaty of 1774, has endeavored from time to time by conciliatory remonstrance to induce the Government of Bhootan to punish the perpetrators of these crimes, to restore the plundered property, and to liberate the captives. But such remonstrations have never been successful, and, even when followed by serious warning, have failed to produce any satisfactory result. The British Government has been frequently deceived by vague assurances and promises for the future, but no property has ever been restored, no captive liberated, no offender punished, and the outrages have continued.

In 1863 the Government of India, being averse to the adoption of extreme measures for the protection of its subjects and dependent allies, dispatched a special mission to the Bhootan Court, charged with proposals of a conciliatory character, but instructed to demand the surrender of all captives, the restoration of plundered property, and security for the future peace of the frontier.

This pacific overture was insolently rejected by the Government of Bhootan. Not only were restitution for the past and security for the future refused, but the British Envoy was insulted in open Durbar, and compelled, as the only means of ensuring the safe return of the mission, to sign a document which the Government of India could only instantly repudiate.

For this insult the Governor-General in Council determined to withhold for ever the annual payments previously made to the Bhootan Government on account of the revenues of the Assam Duars and Ambaree Fallacottih, which had long been in the occupation of the British Government, and annexed those districts permanently to British territory. At the same time, still anxious to avoid an open future, the Governor-General in Council addressed a letter to the Deb and Dharma Rajahs, formally demanding that all captives detained in Bhootan against their will should be released, and that all property carried off during the last five years should be restored.

To this demand the Government of Bhootan has returned an evasive reply, from which can be gathered no hope that the just requisitions of the Government of India will ever be complied with, or that the security of the frontier can be provided for otherwise than by depriving the Government of Bhootan and its subjects of the means and opportunity of future aggression.

The Governor-General in Council has therefore reluctantly resolved to occupy permanently and annex to British territory the Bengal Duars of Bhootan, and so much of the Hill territory, including the Forts of Dallimkot, Panakha, and Dewangiri, as may be necessary to command the passes, and to prevent hostile or predatory incursions of Bhootanese into the Darjeeling district or into the plains below. A Military Force amply sufficient to occupy this tract and to overcome all resistance has been assembled on the frontier, and will now proceed to carry out this resolve.

All Chiefs, leaders, Ryots and other inhabitants of the tract in question are hereby required to submit to the authority of the British Government to remain quietly in their homes, and to render assistance to the British troops and to the Commissioner who is charged with the administration of the tract. Protection of life and property and a guarantee of all private rights is offered to those who do not resist, and strict justice will be done to all. The lands will be moderately assessed, and all oppression and extortion will be absolutely prohibited.

The future boundary between the territories of the Queen of England and those of Bhootan will be surveyed and marked off, and the authority of the Government of Bhootan within this boundary will cease for ever.

By order of the Governor-General in Council

Fort William,

(Sd.) H. M. Duband, Colonel,

The 12th November 1864

Secy, to the Oovernment of India

No.LXIL

(Agreement entered into by High Officials of the Bhootan Government for the surrender of the two Guns, 1865)

We, Samdojey Deb Jimpey and Themseyrensey Donai, the two high officers of the Bhootan Court, will go back to the Deb Rajah and fully explain to His Highness about the two guns which fell into the hands of the Bhootea troops on the evacuation of Dewangiree, and obtain His Highnesses consent to go to Tongso about them. If we succeed in getting back the guns by bringing Tongso Penlo to terms, we will either bring the guns back and restore them at Sinchula, or else cause them to be handed over to the British officers at Dewangiree; but if we unfortunately became unsuccessful, one of us will come down to the Representative of the British Government for assistance and in the meantime, we agree to explain to His Highness the Deb Rajah that no money payment can be expected under the 4th Article of the Treaty. We further agree that no money payment under the Treaty shall be due to the Bhootan Government in the event of Mr. Eden and Cheeboo Lama declaring that a second copy of the Treaty extorted from them was left by them in Bhootan, until such time as the said second copy shall be found and surrendered to the Representative of the British Government, and we fully understand and acknowledge that, until the two British guns are restored, no money payment under the Treaty will be due to the Bhootan Government.

• They were eventually surrendered on 25tb February I866.

Done this 10th day of November 1865, corresponding with the 3rd of the 9th month of the Bhootea year Shim Luugi or one day previous to the date fixed for the formal signature of the Treaty in public Durbar at Sinchula

(Sd.) Samdojey Deb Jimpey,

(Sd.) Themsyrensy Donai.

Treaty No.LXIL

(Treaty between His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir John Lawrence, 6.O.B., E.S.I., Viceroy and Governor-General of Her Britannic Majesty's possessions in the East Indies, and their Highnesses the Dharma and Deb Rajahs of Bhootan concluded on the one part by Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Bruce, C.B., by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in him by the Viceroy and Governor- General, and on the other part by Samdojey Deb Jimpey and Themsyrynsy Donai according to full powers conferred on them by the Dharma and Deb Rajahs, 1865)

Article 1: There shall henceforth be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government and the Government of Bhootan.

Article 2: Whereas in consequence of repeated aggressions of the Bhootan Government and of the refusal of that Government to afford satisfaction for those aggressions, and of their insulting treatment of the officers sent by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of procuring an amicable adjustment of differences existing between the two States the British Government has been compelled to seize by an armed force the whole of the Duars and certain Hill Posts protecting the passes into Bhootan, and whereas the Bhootan Government has now expressed its regret for past misconduct and a desire for the establishment of friendly relations with the British Government, it is hereby agreed that the whole of the tract known as the Eighteen Duars bordering on the Districts of Rungpoor, Cooeh Bebar and Assam together with the Talook of Ambaree, Fallacottah and the Hill territory on the left bank of the Teesta up to such points as may be laid down by the British Commissioner appointed for the purpose is ceded by the Bhootan Government to the British Government for ever.

Article 3: The Bhootan Government hereby agrees to surrender all British subjects as well as subjects of the Chiefs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar who are now detained in Bhootan against their will, and to place no impediment in the way of the return of all or any of such persons into British territory.

Article 4: In consideration of the cession by the Bhootan Government of the territories specified in Article 2 of this Treaty and of the said Government having expressed its regret for past misconduct, and having hereby engaged for the future to restrain all evil-disposed persons from committing crimes within British territory or the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar and to give prompt and full redress for all such crimes which may be committed in defiance of their commands, the British Government agrees to make an annual allowance to the Government of Bhootan of a sum not exceeding fifty thousand rupees (Rupees 50,000) to be paid to officers not below the rank of Jongpen who shall be deputed by the Government of Bhootan to receive the same.

And it is further hereby agreed that the payments shall be made as specified below:

On the fulfillment by the Bhootan Government of the conditions of this Treaty, twenty-five thousand rupees (Rupees 25,000)

On the 10th January following the 1st payment, thirty-five thousand rupees (Rupees 35,000)

On the 10th January following, forty five thousand rupees (Rupees 45,000)

On every succeeding 10th January, fifty thousand rupees (Rupees 50,000)

Article 5: The British Government will hold itself at liberty at any time to suspend the payment of this compensation money either in whole or in part in the event of misconduct on the part of the Bhootan Government or its failure to check the aggression of its subjects or to comply with the provisions of this Treaty.

Article 6: The British Government hereby agrees, on demand being duly made in writing by the Bhootan Government, to surrender, under the provisions of Act VII of 1854, of which a copy shall be furnished to the Bhootan Government, all Bhootanese subjects accused of any of the following crimes who may take refuge in British dominions. The crimes are murder, attempting to murder, rape, kidnapping, great personal violence, maiming, docoity, thuggee, robbery, burglary, knowingly receiving property obtained by docoity, robbery or burglary, cattle stealing, breaking and entering a dwelling-house and stealing therein, arson, setting fire to a village, house, or town, forgery or uttering forged documents, counterfeiting current coin, knowingly uttering base or counterfeit coin, perjury, subornation of perjury, embezzlement by public officers or other persons, and being an accessory to any of the above offences.

Article 7: The Bhootan Government hereby agrees, on requisition being duly made by, or by the authority of, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to surrender any British subjects accused of any of the crimes specified in the above Article who may take refuge in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Bhootan Government, and also any Bhootanese subjects who, after committing any of the above crimes in British territory, shall flee into Bhootan, on such evidence of their guilt being produced as shall satisfy the Local Court of the district in which the offence may have been committed.

Article 8: The Bhootan Government hereby agrees to refer to the arbitration of the British Government all disputes or causes of complaint against, the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, and to abide by the decision of the British Government; and the British Government hereby engages to enquire into and settle all such disputes and complaints in such manner as justice may require, and to insist on the observance of the decision by the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar.

Article 9: There shall be free trade and commerce between the two Governments. No duties shall be levied on Bhootanese goods imported into British territories, nor shall the Bhootan Government levy any duties on British goods imported into or transported through, the Bhootan territories. Bhootanese subjects residing in British territories shall have equal justice with British subjects, and British subjects residing in Bhootan shall have equal justice with the subjects of the Bhootan Government.

Article 10: The present Treaty of ten Articles having been concluded at Sinchula on the 11th day of November 1865, corresponding with the Bhootea year Shim Lung 24th day of the 9th month, and signed and sealed by Lieutenant Colonel Herbert Bruce, C.B. and Samdojey Deb Jimpey and Themsey Rensey Donai, the ratifications of the same by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General or His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council and by Their Highnesses the Dharma and Deb Rajahs shall be mutually delivered within thirty days from this date.

(Sd.) H. Bruce, Lieutenant Colonel
Chief Civil and Political Officer,

(Sd.) In Deva Nagri

(Sd.) In Bhootea language

Seals

This Treaty was ratified on the 29th November 1865 in Calcutta by me.

26th January 1866,
(Sd.) John Lawbruce,

Governor-General

(Sd.) W. Muir,
Secretary to the Government of India

Proclamation No.LXIV

Proclamation: 1866

Whereas in the Proclamation issued on the 12th November 186I, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council announced his resolution of occupying permanently and annexing to British territory the Bengal Duars of Bhootan and so much of the hill territory, including the forts of Dalimkote and Dewangiree as might be necessary to command the passes and to prevent hostile or predatory incursions of Bhootanese into the Darjeeling district or into the plains below;

And whereas in pursuance of that resolution, the British Government, under Article 2 of a Treaty concluded on the 11th day of November 1865, has obtained from the Government of Bhootan for ever the cession of the whole of the tract known as the Eighteen Duars bordering on the Districts of Rungpoor, Cooch Behar and Assam together with the Talook of Ambaree, Fallacottah and the Hill territory on the left bank of the Teesta up to such point as may be laid down by the British Commissioner appointed for the purpose;

It is hereby declared that the territory ceded by the Bhootan Government as aforesaid is annexed to the territories of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England.

It is further declared that the ceded territory is attached to the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William and that it will accordingly be under the immediate control of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal but that it shall not be subjected to the general regulations.

By order of the Governor-General in Council

(SJ) W. Muir,

The 4th July 1866.

(Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to the Territories Comprised within or Political Relation with the Chief Commissioner of Assam)

5. Assam

The different portions of territory included in the Province of Assam were formerly quite distinct and have different histories; they were brought under British administration at different times and in different ways and it is therefore necessary to treat them separately. For present purposes the following division will suffice:

(I.) Assam Proper, that is, the five districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur

(II.) Goalpara including the Eastern Duars

(III.) Kachar including the North Kachar Hills

(IV.) The Jaintia and Khasi Hills

(V.) The Garo Hills

(VI.) The North-Eastern Frontier

In 1873, it was determined by the Government of India to separate the districts now forming the Assam Province from the administration of the Government of Bengal and to form them into a Chief Commissionership, by a proclamation dated the 6th February 1874 the districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, the three Hill districts and the district of Kachar were taken under the immediate authority and management of the Governor- General in Council; and by a notification of the same date they were formed into a Chief Commissionership, and Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Keatinge, Y.C. C.S.I., was appointed the first Chief Commissioner. On the 12th September of the same year, by another proclamation and notification, Sylhet was added, and the Province, as it now exists, was completed.

Assam Proper

The history of Assam Proper, or of so much of the valley of the Brahmaputra as belongs to the modern province of Assam, may be said to begin with the growth of the Koch power upon its western frontier, and the invasion of the Ahoms in the east. It appears certain that the bulk of the inhabitants have always been of non-Aryan origin.

About the beginning of the thirteenth century occurred an event which was destined to have a great influence on the destinies of Assam. This was the invasion of the Ahoms. The Ahoms were Shans from the ancient Shan Kingdom of Pdung, whose capital, Moganng, still exists. Chukapha their leader entered Assam with a small following in the

year 1228 A.D. The Ahoms found the country into which they descended either empty of inhabitants or held by small settlements of Chutias, a people of the Bodo race, whom they had no difficulty in subduing. Within the narrow limits of a territory corresponding to the south-eastern part of the Lakhimpur and part of the Sibsagar district, the Ahom kings succeeded each other with great regularity. The Ahoms, extending their power along the south bank of the Brahmaputra, subdued the Barr Bhuiyas (about 1450 A.D.), and thus touched the Koch power on the west as they touched the Chutia power on the southeast.

The Ahoms overthrew the Chutia dominion in Upper Assam about 1500 A.D., and held their own against the Koch. Several Musalman invasions are recorded in the history of the Brahmaputra Valley, and they all bear the same character of temporary success due to superior arms and discipline and ultimate failure attributable to the unfavorable nature of the climate, ignorance of the country, want of communications and the impossibility of repairing losses by reinforcements. The first expedition of the kind was unsuccessful. A second invasion occurred about the middle of the 16th century. The last and the greatest was that undertaken by Mir Jumla in 1660-62. He captured the capital of the Ahoms, but his force melted away in the rains, and he was obliged to retreat with the loss of his guns. Though unable to wrest any territory from the Ahoms, the Musalman viceroys of Bengal were strong enough to conquer the greater part of the Koch kingdom, so much nearer to their frontiers. In 1682 the imperial general Manzur Khan carried off the last Koch king, Surya Narayan, a prisoner to Delhi. Even in Bengal, however, a relic of the Koch kingdom survived, and forms the present State of Kuch Behar while the Koch territories in Assam, ruled by the tributary Rajas of Darrang, were never annexed to the Musalman dominions.

Before the last Muhammedan invasion, the Ahoms had been largely converted to the Hindu religion. The reigning monarch became a convert in 1655 A.D., and adopted the name of Jayadhwaja Singh, and henceforward all the Ahom kings bear both Ahom and Hindu names. There were now no rivals to the Ahoms in the Assam Valley. The Kacharis had been defeated just before Mir Jumla's invasion, and the Rajas of Darrang and Bijni became tributary to the Ahom power on the fall of the Koch monarchy. In 1695 Rudra Singh, the greatest of the Ahom kings, ascended the throne. His dominions comprised the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley, so far as it was inhabited, except a strip of sub-mountain territory claimed by the Bhutias. In 1780, Gaurinath Singh succeeded to the throne. His reign was marked by a formidable rising of the Moamarias, a powerful religious sect. Gaurinath being hard-pressed applied in his extremity to Mr. Rausch, a salt farmer at Goalpara. Mr. Rausch, it is said, sent a body of 700 sipahis to Gaurinath's aid, but these sipahis were cut to pieces by the Moamarias. In the meanwhile Krishna Narayan, Raja of Darrang, taking advantage of Raja Gaurinath’s difficulties, made a descent upon Gauhati. Gaurinnth, meeting with further reverses, again applied to Mr. Rausch for help, and also sent a deputation to Calcutta. At the close of 1792 the British Government sent a detachment, under the command of Captain Welsh, to assist Gaurinath. Captain Welsh defeated Krishna Narayan, put down the Moamaria insurrection, and reduced the whole valley to obedience. The first treaty with any of the Assam Chiefs was a commercial Agreement (No.LXV) made in 1793 with Raja Gaurinath Singh; but this was never ratified or published by Government, on the ground

that the Raja's administration was not sufficiently strong to ensure the observance of the agreement. Captain Welsh was recalled in 1794. A few months later Gaurinath died. He was succeeded by Kamaleswar Singh, who died in 1809 and was succeeded by his brother Chandra Kanta Singh. The reign of this prince was marked by the appearance of the Burmese in Assam. Chandra Kanta having quarreled with his minister, the Bura Gohain, applied for aid to the Burmese. The Burmese entered Assam with a force with which the Assamese were utterly unable to cope. Shortly after, however, the Burmese retired, on which the Bura Gohain deposed Chandra Kanta and set up Purandar Singh. Chandra Kanta again applied to the Burmese, who sent an army and reinstated him. In 1819, Purandar Singh applied for aid to the British Government, but was refused. Chandra Kanta, however, quarreled with the Burmese, who finally expelled him from Assam, and he sought refuge with the British officers at Goalpara. But at this juncture matters had come to a crisis between the British and the Burmese, and on the 5th March 1824 war was declared against Burma. A British force advancing with a gunboat flotilla conquered the valley as far as Koliabor, and during the next cold season completed the subjugation of the rest. Finally on the 24th February 1826, the Burmese by the treaty of Yandabo ceded Assam to the East India Company.

For some time after the conquest, it was still doubtful whether the Company would retain in their hands the province they had won. Mr. Scott, the Commissioner of North-East Rangpur, administered the country, Captain White being appointed in 1827 to assist him in Lower Assam, and Captain Neuville in 1828 to have charge under him of Upper Assam. The Moamarias, whose country, known as Matak was comprised in the Lakhimpur district, were left under their own ruler, styled the Bar Senapati, who in May 1826 executed an Agreement (No.LXVI) whereby he acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and bound himself to supply 800 soldiers in time of war. The management of the country was left in his own hands, except as regards capital offences. In January 1835 the obligation to supply troops was commuted to a money payment of Rs. 1,800 a year (No.LXYII). The Bar Senapati died in November 1839 and, as his successor refused the terms offered him, the management of the country was assumed by the British Government in 1842, and pensions were given to the members of the family. The Mataks number about 26,000 souls.

The Khnmpti Chief of Sadiya, called the Sadiyakhoa, was, on the 15th May 1826, confirmed as the Company's feudatory in possession of that district. In 1839 the Khamptis headed an insurrection of the border dans, attacked and partially destroyed the military station of Sadiya, and killed the Commandant and Political Agent, Colonel White. The combination was not broken up and dispersed till many lives had been lost. The son of the Sadiyakhoa, for his complicity in this rebellion, was exiled with his followers to Narayanpur on the Dikhrang in the west of the Lakhimpur district, where the colony still exists. Sadiya the district of the Khampti Chief was, by a proclamation issued in 1842 incorporated with the rest of the province.

In 1833 the districts of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, north of the Brahmaputra, were placed under the administration of Raja Purandar Singh, who executed a Treaty (No.LXVIII) binding himself to administer the country upon the principles of justice established in

their territories by the East India Company, to act according to the advice of the Political Agent stationed in his principality, and to pay an annual tribute of Rupees 50,000. Thus of Assam Proper there remained British in 1833 only the districts of Kamrup, Nowgong and Darrang; the latter then only extended to and included Bishwanath, beyond which was Lakhimpur, subject to Purandar Singh.

In October 1838 Purandar Singh's territories were resumed by the Government of India; the Raja had fallen deeply into arrears with his tribute, and declared himself unable any longer to carry on the administration. In July 1839 a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General in Council annexing the territory to Bengal, dividing it into two districts, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur and directing that these two districts should be administered in the same manner as the districts of Lower Assam. The incorporation of the Kamrup and Darrang Duars in British territory in 1842 is noticed under the Bhutan section of the narrative.

No. LXV

(The declaration of a new system adopted by the Maharajah Swarga Deo, Assam on 28th February 1798)

The Maharajah Swarga Deo highly sensible of the benefit he has experienced from the aid which has been afforded to him by the English Government, and desirous not only of cementing the harmony and friendship which subsists between him and that power, but also of extending the beneficial effects thereof, in general, to the subjects of Bengal and Assam, has at the recommendation of Captain Welsh, the representative at his Court of the said English Government, agreed to abolish the injudicious system of Commerce which has heretofore been pursued, and to adopt in its stead the following however to such alterations and amendments as occasions may require, for the mutual benefit and comfort of the subjects of both countries.

Article 1: There shall henceforth be a reciprocal and entire liberty of commerce between the subjects of Bengal and those of Assam, for all and singular goods and merchandizes on the conditions and in such manner as is settled in the following rules.

Article 2: That to facilitate this free intercourse between the subjects of both nations, those of Bengal, in fulfilling the conditions hereafter prescribed, be permitted to proceed with their boats loaded with merchandizes into Assam, and to export their goods for sale, at any place or in any manner may best suit their purposes, without being subject to any other duties than are established by these Articles.

Article 3: That a regular Import would be levied on all goods or merchandizes, whether of Export or Import and that these duties will be fixed as follows:

Imports

That the Salt of Bengal be subject to an Import of 10 per cent, on the supposed prime cost, reckoning that invariably at 400 Rupees per 100 maunds of 84 Sicca weight to the seer.

That the Broad Cloths of Europe, the Cotton Cloths of Bengal, Carpets, Copper, Lead, Tin, Tutanag, Pearls, Hardware, Jewelry, Spices, and the various other Goods imported into Assam, pay an equal Import duty of 10 per cent, on the Invoice price.

That Warlike Implements and Military Stores be considered contraband and liable to confiscation, excepting the supplies of those articles which may be required for the Company's troops stationed in Assam which and every other matter of convenience for the said troops, whether of clothing or provisions, are in all cases to be exempt from duties.

Exports

The Duties to be levied on all articles of Export (except in the cases as are hereafter mentioned) would be invariably 10 per cent reckoning agreeable to the rates prevailing at that time.

Prime Articles of export
Mooga Dhotey,
Mooga Thread,
Pepper,
Elephants' Teeth and
Cotton

That the articles of Export not herein specified (with the exception of the following) and for which no certain calculation can be made, be subject to an equal Import, in such instances always to be paid in kind and with respect to these articles which have been particularized, that the Duties be received either in money or kind, as may be most convenient to the Merchant: but as it may happen that a temporary scarcity of grain may occur either in Bengal or Assam, to provide against which, Rice and every description of grain to be exempt from Duties.

Article 4: That any person or persons detected in attempting to defraud the Swarga Deo, of the Duties hereby established, shall be liable to a confiscation of his or their property, and for ever after debarred the privilege of the trade.

Article 5: That for the purpose of collecting the said Duties, Agents be appointed and Custom Houses established for the present, one at the Candahar Chowkey and one at Gowhaty.

Article 6: That it be the business of the Agents to be stationed at the Candahar Chowkey to collect the Duties on all Imports and on all Exports, the produce of the country to the westward of Gowhaty for which they are to be held responsible. They are to examine all boats passing up and down the river and after having settled with the proprietor for the amount of the Duties, they are to grant him a passport, specifying the number and quantity of each article, a copy of which they are to forward, without delay, to the Agents at Gowhaty, whither, or further, if it be necessary, the Merchant may proceed under sanction of the said pass.

Article 7: That it be the business of the Agents stationed at Gowhaty to collect the Duties on all Exports the produce of the country parallel to it, north and south, and also on all Exports the produce of the country to the eastward, as far as Nowgong, for which in like manner they are to be held responsible. They are to examine all boats passing down the river, and to grant passports to the proprietors, copies of which to be forwarded to the Agents at the Candahar Chowkey, who are to re examine the cargo, lest, on the way between Gowhaty and their station, the merchant may have taken goods on board which could not be specified in the pass granted at that place.

Article 8: That as an incitement to the Agents to be industrious in the discharge of their duty, a recompense be made to them, bearing a proportion to the amount of the collections, and that for the present it be fixed at 12 per cent, on the said collections, which is calculated to defray all incidental expenses.

Article 9: That the said Agents be required to be sureties for each other, and that the whole be bound by engagements to the Swarga Deo, not only for the purity of their conduct in the collections, but also that they abstain from having any concern, either directly or indirectly in trade.

Article 10: That a copy of their accounts would be produced on or before the 10th of every month and that the payment of the collections be made into the hands of any person the Swarga Deo may appoint to receive it at the expiration of every quarter.

Article 11: That the standard weight hereafter, both for Exports and Imports be 40 seers would weigh a maund and 84 sicca would be equal to a seer.

Article 12: That as much political inconvenience might arise to both Governments from granting a general license to the subjects of Bengal to settle in Assam, no European merchant, or adventurer of any description, be allowed to fix their residence in Assam, without having previously obtained the permission of the English Government and that of the Swarga Deo.

Article 13: That as Captain Welsh, the representative of the said English Government in consideration of the Swarga Deo having removed the prohibitory restrictions which have hitherto existed, to the detriment of a free intercourse, has signified his intention of bringing to punishment all persons from Bengal, offending against the established laws of Assam, or infringing these Articles, so the Swarga Deo, on his part, declares he will

punish all abuses in his subjects, tending to obstruct or discourage the reciprocal intercourse this system is designed to promote.

Article 14: Copies of these Articles would be affixed at every public place throughout Assam, that none may plead ignorance, and that Captain Welsh be requested to send one officially to his Government.

(Sd.) Welsh,

Captain

The left Thumb Impression of the Maha Rajah Swarga Deo.

Agreement No.LXVI

(Translation of Kubooliyut of Bar Senapatee dated 13th May 1826)

The Bar Senapatee, in the presence of Mr. Scott, agreed to the following Kubooliyut:

I, Matee Bar Bar Senapatee of the Muttocks, write what follows:

The Pykes belonging to the Fhokuns, Burrooahs, Brahmins and others that are under me, amount to 160 Gotes, and my own amount to 260 Gotes, of these 420 Gotes, 41 belong to my Gote, 11 belong to the Hazaree Keeahs, 5 Sykeahs, 16 Burakayees, 42 are Raj Sumutyahs (provide rice) and 5 to the Naogharias, 120 in total.

800 Gotes remain, of these 150 are fighting men, 150 laborers: these I will furnish, according to the custom of the country and what the Sircar may want. I will furnish on getting the amount of its cost over these people on whom I will exercise jurisdiction, enquire and decide, but in cases of murder, docoity, and great wounding, and thefts above Rs.50, I will institute investigation, and send the papers and the men to the presence and whatever ordered I will obey. This Kaboolyut shall remain until another is made.

Signed by the Bar Senapatee

Signed with Mr. Scott's initials

No.LXVIL

(Translation of an Agreement entered into by Mati Bur Bur Senaputee, on the 23rd January 1835, in the presence of the Political Agent, Assam)

Article 1: I agree to relinquish my claim to the village of Suckhowah, which has been the cause of dispute between the Suddeya Khawah Gohain and myself; further, I agree that the following shall be recognized as the territorial boundaries of my district - on the north

the Berhampooter; on the west the Booree Dehing River, separating my territory from that of Rajah Poorunder Sing; to the east the Dibroo River and the Danquree Nullah, which falls into it. From the rise of the nullah a boundary line will be formed to connect it with the Booree Dehing River; for this purpose Lieutenant Charlton can depute one person and I will depute another.

The lands lying between the Dhul Jan and Gooroo Jan Nullahs which fall into the Danquree Nullah, to be considered under my jurisdiction, and the persons deputed as above mentioned can connect them by definite marks, so as to form a boundary line. These are the territorial boundaries of the country under my jurisdiction and have no reference to the pecuniary questions now pending between me and the British Government.

Article 2: I cannot agree to the demand which the British Government has made me to contribute towards the expenses of the State in an increased proportion, consequently, or by paying a tribute of Rs.10,000 per annum, as I engaged to do under the Assam Government. But if the British Government requires me no longer to furnish a Military Contingent of 300 men, I agree to pay in their stead the usual Capitation Tax for these 800 men, which, at the rate of Rs.6 per head, will amount to Rs.1,800 per annum. I further agree to restore to the British Government the arms of this force if required. I likewise will adhere to the engagement I formed with Captain Neufville, to pay Rs.551 per annum, on account of Pykes who absconded from Upper Assam, whilst that Province was under his charge in 1819; and further I agree to pay to those who have absconded from Rajah Poorunder Sing's territory within the last two years. I will cause them to be counted, but if suspicion is entertained that a false enumeration will be given in, I agree that the British Government may nominate an Officer to take a new census.

(Sd.) Mati Bur Bur Senaputee

No.LXVIII

(Treaty and Agreement concluded between Mr. Thomas Campbell Robertson, Agent to the Governor-General on the North-East Frontier, on the part of the Honorable Company and Rajah Poorunder Sing, now residing at Gowhatty, in Assam - 1833)

Article 1: The Company gives over to Rajah Poorander Sing the portion of Assam lying on the southern bank of the Burrumpooter to the eastward of the Dhunsiree River and on the northern bank to the eastward of a nullah immediately east of Bishwanath,

Article 2: The Rajah Poorander Sing agrees to pay an annual tribute of 50,000 Rupees of Rajah Mohree coinage to the Honorable Company.

Article 3: The Rajah Poorander Sing binds himself, in the administration of justice in the country now made over to him, to abstain from the practices of the former Rajahs of Assam, as to cutting off ears and noses, extracting eyes or otherwise mutilating or

torturing, and that he will not inflict cruel punishment for slight faults, but generally assimilate the administration of justice in his territory to that which prevails in the dominions of the Honorable Company. He further binds himself not to permit the immolation of women by suttees.

Article 4: The Rajah Poorander Sing binds himself to assist the passage of the troops of the British Government through his territory, furnishing supplies and carriage on receiving payment for the same.

Article 5: Whether at Jorhath or elsewhere, where so ever a spot may be required for the permanent cantonment of the troops of the British Government, the Rajah agrees that, within the limits assigned to such cantonment, he shall exercise no power whatever; all matters connected with such cantonment to be decided on by the Officer of the British Government.

Article 6: In the event of a detachment being stationed at Suddeya or elsewhere, the Rajah Poorander Sing binds himself to render it all the assistance that it shall require in regard to provisions and carriage.

Article 7: The Rajah binds himself ever to listen with attention to the advice of the Political Agent to be stationed in Upper Assam, or to that of the Agent to the Governor-General, with a view to the conduct of affairs in the country made over to him in conformity with the stipulation of this agreement.

Article 8: The Rajah binds himself not to carry on any correspondence by letter or otherwise, or to enter into any Contract or Agreement with the Rulers of any Foreign States. In all cases of necessity he will consult with the Political Agent or Agent to the Governor-General by whom the necessary communication will be made.

Article 9: The Rajah binds himself to surrender, on demand from the Agent to the Governor-General or Political Agents any fugitive from justice who may take refuge in his territory, and always to apply to those Officers for the apprehension of any individuals who may fly from his territory into that of the Honorable Company or of any other State.

Article 10: It is distinctly understood that this Treaty invests Rajah Poorander Sing with no power over the Moarmaria Country of the Bur Senapatee.

Article 11: It being notorious that the quantity of opium produced in Assam is the cause of many miseries to the inhabitants, the Rajah binds himself that, whatever measures may be determined on with a view to checking this source of mischief in the territory of the Honorable Company, corresponding measures shall be adopted in the territory made over to him.

In the event of the Rajahs continuing faithful to the Articles of this

Treaty, the British Government engages to protect him from the aggressions of any foreign foe, but if, which God forbid, he should in any way depart from a faithful adherence to the same, and be guilty of oppressing the people of the country entrusted to his charge, then the right is reserved to the Government of the Honorable Company, either to transfer the said country to another ruler, or take it into its own immediate occupation.

Dated the 2nd March 1833 or 20th Phagoon 1239, B.S

(A true translation)

(Signed) T. C. Robertson,

Agent of the Governor-General

Goalpara

This district consists of two very distinct portions; the permanently settled part comprising the three thanas of Goalpara, Dhubri and Karaibari and the temporarily settled part called the Eastern Duars. The first tract was originally a portion of the district of Rangpur and as such was included in the province of Bengal which, by the Mughal Emperor's Farman of the 12th August 1765 became part of the dominions of the East India Company. Like the neighboring district of Kamrup this tract was inhabited chiefly by Meches or Kacharis and members of the same race converted to Hinduism under the name of Koch. It formed part of the dominions of the Koch dynasty of Rangpur and as has already been related above passed out of their hands when Manzur Khan in 1685 overthrew King Surya Narayan.

In 1867 the five Eastern Duars, which were annexed by the British Government on the conclusion of the Bhutan war, were incorporated in Goalpara.

Bhutia Tribes on the Frontier

The Bhutias of the Kuriapara Duar, which lies east of Bhutan Proper and extends from the Doisham to the River Rota are dependent upon the Towang Raja, who is himself an official subject to the Government of Lhassa. The Chiefs of this Duar, called the Sat Rajas, used to levy dues from the inhabitants of the adjoining plains. In 1844, their claims were bought out (No. LIX) by the British Government on payment of an annual sum of Rs.5,000. Since then British relations with these people have only once been disturbed. In 1852 one of the Gelongs, or Tibetan officials appointed from Lhassa to supervise the local chiefs, having some misunderstanding with his superiors, fled to British territory. His surrender was premptorily demanded by the authorities of Lhassa, and a Tibetan army moved towards the frontier. A British force was assembled at Udalguri with two guns. But no hostilities actually occurred, the Tibetans retired, the fugitive Gelong was removed to Gauhaty and the Duar was reopened for trade.

The Bhutia Chiefs called the Sat Rajas of Charduar lived at villages called by the people of the plains Rupraigaon and Shergaon. They claim to be independent of Towang, and ruled the tribes from the Rota to the Diputa River. The first Treaty with them was concluded in 1853 (No.LXIX). The Thebengia Bhutias are a distinct race, and extend several days journey into the hills; but they used injunction with the Sat Rajas to levy contributions from the people of the adjacent plains. From 1839 to 1844 these people were excluded from the plains by the British Government in punishment for outrages committed by them. On their submitting and executing a formal Agreement (being No. LXX) to refrain from aggressions, the Shergaon and Rupraigaon Bhutias received an annual pension of Rs.2526 a year. Certain similar amounts were paid to the Thebengia Bhutias, but they did not appear to have subscribed any engagement. These tribes came down annually to receive their pensions at Tezpur.

Treaty No.LXIX

(Treaty signed by Captains Reid and Campbell and Chanqdandoo Namang Leden and Dao Nurboo, Bhutia Rajas, on the 28th January 1863 at Kuch Behar)

We, Changdandoo Raja Namang Leden Raja Dao Nurboo Rajah, being deputed by the Deba Rajas to carry letters of friendship to the Agent, Governor-General, North-East Frontier, desiring that the former friendly relations which existed between the Government of India and our Lassa Government (lately disturbed by the misbehaviour of one of our Gellongs) should be again resumed, and being ourselves desirous above all things that peace should exist between our Government and that of India, do (now that we are assured that the Government of India do not intend to invade our country) hereby solemnly declare that all military force in excess of what is required to maintain order in our own country shall be immediately withdrawn, and the soldiers sent to their houses, and should the peace be ever broken by us, we shall consider that all claim to the Rs.5,000 hitherto yearly paid to our Government by the Government of India shall be forfeited, and that our trade with the people of the plains shall be put a stop to.

And all these we of our own good will agree to and swear to in the presence of Captains Reid and Campbell, signing the agreement as copied out in Bhutia language from the Bengali copy made by Tuckha Mahomed Darogah.

And moreover, with regard to the followers and others of the Gelling who have come down to the plains for protection, we promise not to molest them, but hope, with the good help of the Agent, Governor-General, to make friends with them and persuade them to return to their own country.

Agreement No.LXX

(An Agreement entered into by Deba Rajah, Taugjoog Rajah, Dukpa Rajah, Joypoo Rajah, Chang Khangdoo Rajah, Saugja Rajah, Boop Bae Gya Tooung Bhungdoo Rajah, Subgyah of Bhootan dated 29th Maug 1260 B. S.)

Under the supposition that we were concerned with Niboojoo Rajah, Kawree Bhoot and Bogah Bhoot, in the murder of Muddoo Sykeah in Charduar and therefore, required to give up the abovementioned supposed murderers, which we were unable to do, in consequence of which the Duars were attached, and we were forbidden to frequent them; and it being now ordered that we be allowed a pension in lieu of black-mail and may again visit the Plains for the purposes of trade under a sworn Agreement, to ensure the ryots from any oppressions from us; We hereby pledge ourselves to act upon to the following terms, swearing according to our custom by placing salt on a Dao or Bhootan sword and biting it and cutting the skins of a tiger and bear.

1st: We pledge ourselves to report our arrival in the plains to the Patgirree, and never to commit any fraud or theft against any ryot or Patgirree in trafficking with them, or any other act of oppression. Neither will we allow any of our people to do so lest we shall forfeit our privilege of visiting the Plains.

2nd: We pledge ourselves never to join any person or persons that may be at enmity with the British Government; and furthermore to oppose every effort made against the Government the instant it shall be brought to our knowledge, and report faithfully any intelligence we may get of any conspiracy being carried on. We also pledge ourselves to act upon to any orders we may get from the British authorities. Should it ever be proved that we have joined in any conspiracy, we shall not be allowed to visit the Plains.

3rd: We will never come into the Plains armed, and in our traffic confine ourselves exclusively to the established market places at Lahabarree, Balle, Barah, Gobung, and Tezpur, and not deal with the ryots in their private houses, neither will we permit any of our people doing so.

4th: We consider ourselves in all civil grievances bound to abide by the decision of the British Courts.

6th: I, Durjee Rajah, am content to receive a monthly pension of 26 Rupees, and for the rest of my people 20 Rupees each, altogether 145Rupees in lieu of our black-mail, and we relinquish every other right in Charduar.

7th: The moment we hear that any of our people have been guilty of any crime in the Plains we engage to give up the offender.

8th: We pledge ourselves to act up to the foregoing terms, or forfeit our pension.

(True translation)

Prans Jenkins,
Agent, Governor-General

6. Manipur

Manipnr was a protected State lying between Burma on the east, the Naga Hills on the north, Cachar on the west and Lushai-land and the country of the Kukis on the south. The country known as Manipur was called Eathay by the Burmese and the Shans and it was termed as Moglie by the inhabitants of Cachar while the tribes east of the Chindwin river and by those of Assam called it Miklie. With the exception of the central valley in which the capital is situate, Manipur is almost entirely a hill country. The population of Manipur, according to the census of 1881, amounted to 2,21,070. Of these, 85,288 were recorded as hill tribes, the remainder being by religion Hindus and/or Muhammadans consisting of the population of the central valley. The completed census records of 1891 were destroyed during the recent Manipur rebellion, and the results of the enquiry were hopelessly lost. The claim of the Manipuris to be Hindus rests on no better foundation than the same claim on the part of the Ahoms, Kacharis or Tipperahs (with all of whom the Manipur royal family has intermarried); and while their features clearly show that they belong to the Indo-Chinese stock, their language is closely allied to that of the Kuki tribes on the south.

The kingdom of Manipur first emerges from obscurity as a neighbour and ally of the Shan kingdom of Fudong, the capital of which was at Mogaung. The regalia of the royal family are said to have been bestowed by king Eomba of Fudong, who at the same time added the Eubo or Tammu-Eampat valley to Manipur. In 1714 a Naga named Pamhaiba became Raja of Manipur and adopted the Hinduism, taking the name of Gharib-Nawaz. His people followed his example, and since that date had been conspicuous for the regidity with which they observe the rules of caste and ceremonial purity. Gharib-Nawaz, during his reign of forty years, was engaged in constant warfare with Burma and this state of things continued under his successors.

Gharib-Nawaz had three sons, named Sham Shah, Ugat Shah and Barat Shah. Ugat Shah murdered his father and his elder brother, but was expelled by Barat Shah who ruled two years and was succeeded by Guru Sham, son of Sham Shah. Guru Sham associated himself with his brother Jai Singh and they ruled alternately until Guru Sham's death about 1764 when the sole authority fell to Jai Singh.

After the death of Gharib-Nawaz the Burmese invaded Manipur and Jai Singh having sought the aid of the British a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was negotiated by Mr. Verelst on behalf of the East India Company on the 14th September 1702. The force sent to assist Manipur was however recalled and in October of the following year Guru Sham confirmed with some modifications, the treaty which had been made with Jai Singh. No copies of these treaties appear to be existant.

The invasions of Manipur by the Burmese were frequent; their last occupation of the country began in 1819. The three Manipuri princes Marjit, Chaurajit and Gambhir Singh, sons of Jai Singh, were compelled to escape to Cachar, which country they occupied. With them large numbers of Manipuris emigrated, and a considerable population of this race is still to be found in Cachar and Sylhet.

When war was declared against Burma by the British Government in 1824, and the Burmese had been expelled from Manipur with assistance from Kacharis in arms; and money was given by the Company to Gambhir Singh in an attempt to recover possession of Manipur. In this manner he was successful in occupying not only the valley in which the capital is situated, but also the Kubo valley, lying to the east of the former boundaries of the State, and peopled by Shana (called Eabau in Manipuri). By the treaty of Yandabo with Burma, executed in February 1826, the King of Ava recognized the independence of Gambhir Singh as Raja of Manipur.

Gambhir Singh being thus established on the throne, the levy with which he had effected the re-conquest of his country was placed under the management of two British officers, and supplied with ammunition, and also with pay, by the British Government. In 1834 the British Government agreed (No.CXXII) to annex to Manipur the ranges of hills on the west, between the eastern and western bends of the Barak, giving the State the line of the Jiri and the western bend of the Barak as its boundary, on the condition that the Raja removed all obstructions to trade between Manipur and Cachar, kept in repair the road between Manipur and British territory, and promised to assist the Government both with carriage and troops in the event of war with Burma. In 1834 Gambhir Singh died, and Mar Singh, his minister, and a great-grandson of Oharib-Nawaz, was appointed regent on behalf of the dead king's son Chandra Kirti Singh, then one year old. In the same year the British Gbvernment decided to restore the Kubo valley to the King of Burma, who had never ceased to remonstrate against its separation from that country: the valley was given back, and a new boundary laid down in the presence of British Commissioners, under an Agreement (No.CXXIII) dated the 9th January 1834, and at the same time the British Government bound itself to pay a monthly stipend of Rupees 500 to the Raja of Manipur in compensation for his loss. In 1885 the assistance formerly given to the Manipur levy was withdrawn, and a Political Agent was appointed to reside at Manipur.

In 1844 the Rani dowager, widow of Gambhir Singh and mother of Chandra Kirti, attempted to poison Nar Singh, the Regent; her attempt failed and she fled from the country with her son. Nar Singh then assumed the chiefship in his own name and ruled till his death in 1850. He was succeeded by his brother Debendra Singh, but this prince ruled for only three months, Chandra Kirti Singh, with the help of Nar Singh's three sons, succeeding in ejecting him and recovering possession of the throne. This was followed by some disorder in the State; but in 1851 the Government of India decided to recognise Chandra Kirti Singh, guaranteeing the chiefship to him and declaring that any attempts to dislodge him would be suppressed by force of arms if necessary.

Since that time there have been many efforts on the part of various members of the Manipur ruling family to gain possession of the chief power in the State; but all have been defeated and the leaders have been either killed or imprisoned or placed under surveillance in British territory. In 1851 the sons of Debendra Singh and Nar Singh attempted a rising. In 1852 another attempt occurred led by Kanhai Singh, son of Marjit, Gambhir Singh's brother. In 1857 some of the rebellious sepoys from Chittagong, who had found their way to Cachar, were used by one Narendrajit, a younger son of Chaurajit

to raise a disturbance; but it was suppressed and Narendrajit was transported. In 1859 Maipak, a descendant of Gbarib-Nawaz, invaded the valley, but was defeated and fled. In 1862, in conjunction with another Rajputra named Khaifa Singh, he headed a second attack, and penetrated to the Raja's palace, where he was captured. Kanhai Singh also made an attempt in 1865, when his followers were dispersed by British troops and police. In 1866 a raid was perpetrated by Gokul Singh a jonnger son of Debendra Singh; his enterprise failed like the rest but he himself escaped for the time. He was captured and tried in Cachar and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

Chandra Kirti Singh died in May 1886 and was succeeded by his son Sur Chandra Singh. The succession was not accepted without a rising under Bara Chauba Singh the eldest son of Nar Singh who attempted to get possession of the gadi. After some skirmishes with the Cachar frontier police who had been sent to help the rightful heir, Bara Chauba's force was defeated and his son and two brothers were taken prisoners. Shortly after this Bara Chauba gave himself up and he and his relatives were deported to Hazaribagh. Two other unsuccessful risings took place in September 1887. The first under the Wangkhairakpa, the highest judicial officer in the State, came to an abrupt termination by the leader being shot. The second and more important rebellion was headed by one Jogendra Singh, who though not himself related to the ruling family, acted on behalf of the exiles. The insurgent force was attacked and routed by parties of the 44th Gurkhas and the Cachar frontier police. Jogendra Singh was killed and several of his followers were made prisoners. Many of the latter were imprisoned for waging war on a friendly State.

Manipur has been repeatedly the subject of raids by the Luikai tribes and in the British expedition against the Lushais in 1871, the levies of Manipur were employed as auxiliaries. The expedition was successful; and while submitting to the Government of India, several of the Lushai chiefs entered into an engagement with the Manipur authorities also, to keep the peace with that State for the future. In 1870, and again, after this expedition, in 1872, the Government of India laid down the policy to be followed by Manipur with regard to the Lushais. The Raja was held responsible for acts of unprovoked aggression on the tribes, and for taking effective steps to make his subject Kukis understand this, and to punish them should they disregard these instructions; at the same time it was declared to be the Raja's duty to take all necessary measures for the protection of his frontier. In 1873 orders were issued that the Political Agent at Manipur should not visit the Lushai country without the express sanction of the Government of India.

Manipur has also for many years had hostile relations with the Suti, Suktiy or Sokte tribe also called Kamhow after their great chief who died in 1868. This tribe lived in the region to the south of Manipur and east of the Torol of Manipur River between the country of the Lushai proper and the territory which till recently formed the Shan State of Kale. The Manipuris consider this tribe more formidable than the Lushais. It was a constant source of trouble to them and has at times rendered the southern portion of Manipur uninhabitable. The raiding propensities of the Kamhows have been ascribed to a tribal migration northwards under the influence of a forward movement of the Hindus, a powerful confederacy living to the south-east of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The Lushais also held the Sutis in great dread. In 1871 when preparations were being made for the expedition against the Lushai tribes, the Sutis sent a deputation to the Manipur Raja with friendly assurances, which there was reason to believe were sincere. But at the conclusion of the expedition the Manipuris repaid the pacific intentions of the Sutis by treacherously attacking a party of them, and making them prisoners together with their Chief, Eokatung, who died shortly after in the Manipur jail. The Manipur authorities justified their conduct on the ground that many of their countrymen were still in captivity with the Sutis. In 1872 the Governrment of India intimated that the Darbar must be guided in its policy towards this tribe by the principles laid down in connection with the treatment of the Lushais, and the Political Agent, Colonel Mowbray Thomsoui succeeded in arranging for the mutual exchange of nearly all the prisoners. In March 1878 peace was sworn between Eokatung's son and Manipur. This did not, however, last long. In October 1874 the Sutis made an unprovoked attack upon two Manipur villages. In retaliation the Raja in 1875 organised an expedition, but no collision appears to have occurred between the opposing parties; and the matter ended in the surrender by each side of all the remaining captives. Nevertheless raiding did not cease; and in 1876, 1877 and 1879, frequent Suti outrages were reported. There was, however, reason to believe that these were not altogether unprovoked. In 1877 there was a remarkable migration of some 2,000 Sutis into Manipur territory, where they settled on lands assigned to them by the Maharaja. In 1879-80 the tribe again committed a number of outrages on the frontier, but it was observed that considerable numbers came into Manipur and took up cultivation. In 1880-81 the Sutis were reported quiet so far as regards Manipur, although they were guilty of several raids on the Eubo and Elale valleys. In 1883, the Sutis raided on Tepaimukh bazaar, but the perpetrators were discovered with the assistance of the Manipur Raja and immediate reparation was exacted from the Chiefs of the tribe. In 1886 farther raids were committed on the Kubo valley.

The aggressions of the Chasad or Chuksad tribe of Kukis on the eastern frontier of Manipur have also given rise to much trouble. No notice of them prior to 1878 has been traced. When they first came under observation they lived on the borders of the Kubo valley in territory which has often been in dispute between Manipur and Burma. They are one of the Kuki tribes which are being gradually pushed on towards the north-east from the country south of the valley. It was believed that their raids were abetted by the Shan Sawbwa who was known to the Manipuris as the chief of the tribe living in the Kubo valley, and to the Burmese as the Sawbwa of Thaungthut (Hsawng-Hseep) on the Chindwin river. The frontier north of the Kubo valley proper as set forth in the agreement of 1834 was disputed and the Government of India accordingly sent a Commission to define and demarcate the boundary of Manipur in this direction. This task was accomplished in the cold weather of 1881-82. It was ascertained that the raiding Kukis, who were favoured in their enterprise by the uncertainty of the frontier, were settled within Manipur territory, and some of them have been induced to move farther in, and have thus been brought under stricter control. The Chasads refused to submit to the Raja, and were in the habit of levying revenue and exacting labour from the Tungkhal Naga villages, until in December 1888 the Raja organised a successful expedition which ended in the surrender of the Chasad Chief.

During the year 1890-91, the Manipur State was the scene of much anarchy. Maharaja Sur Chandra Singh, who succeeded his father Chandra Kirti Singh in 1886, was a prince of weak character; the peace of the State was frequently disturbed by the quarrels of his seven brothers, and the family was broken up into two factions. On one side were the Maharaja's three uterine brothers headed by Fakka Sena and on the other his four half-brothers under the leadership of the Senapati Tekendrajit Bir Singh. The Maharaja was quite unable to assert his authority over these two turbulent relatives and matters reached a climax on the 21st September 1890, when the palace walls were suddenly scaled by the two younger brothers and a few shots in the air were sufficient to drive the timid Sur Chandra Singh to seek safety at the Residency. The next day, contrary to the advice of the Political Agent, the Maharaja proclaimed his intention to abdicate and proceed on a pilgrimage to Brindaban and on the 23rd idem he left the State, accompanied by his three uterine brothers and a few followers and arrived at Cachar by the end of the month. Here he changed his tone, represented to the Chief Commissioner that he had no intention of abdicating and solicited assistance to regain the gadi.

In the meanwhile the Senapati who was the real mover in the rebellion, had induced his elder brother, the Jubraj Kula Chandra Dhaja Singh to occupy the gadi and application was made to the Government of India to ratify this accession.

The whole question was considered by the Qovernment of India and it was concluded that it would be to the advantage of the Manipur State and to the furtherance of British interests to recognise the Jubraj in his new position rather than to restore the Maharaja Sur Chandra Singh; it was however decided to remove the Senapati from Manipur and punish him for his lawless conduct towards his eldest brother.

The Chief Commissioner of Assam was directed to visit Manipur and carry out the orders of the Government of India. Accordingly, Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner left Golaghat with an escort of 400 men of the Assam Gurkha Battalions under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Skene of the 42nd Regiment. This force, with the Political Agent's escort at Manipur and the support of 200 men enroute Silchar was considered sufficient to overawe the malcontents and quell any possible resistance.

On the 22nd March, Mr. Quinton and his party reached the neighbourhood of Manipur and were met by the Senapati who had with him two Manipuri regiments. On arrival at Manipur the Chief Commissioner was saluted by the Manipuri troops and the Regent and he announced that a Darbar would be held in the Residency the same day. As the Senapati did not attend on the plea of ill-health, the Darbar was postponed until next morning, when again he failed to appear and at an interview with the Regent, the Political Agent was informed that the Regent was unable to enforce his brother's arrest. Political negotiations having failed, the Chief Commissioner decided to capture the Senapati in his house, which was surrounded on the morning of the 24th by the British troops. A serious engagement ensued and the Manipuris attacked the Residency which was held till 8 p.m., when an armistice, Lieatenant-Colonel C. McD. Skene was arranged and Mr. Quinton

and other four officers accompanying him flag of truce from the Residency to the Palace, were cruelly and treacherously murdered. The British troops retired Silchar.

An expedition was then ordered to Manipur to re-assert the political supremacy of the British Government and to enforce the unconditional sabmission of the Darbar. The force marched in three columns from Kohima, Silchar and Tammu all of which reached the capital on the 27th April 1891. The Tammu column was the only one which met with resistance, the other two columns entering Manipur unmolested. On arrival the force found the capital deserted; the arsenal with its guns had been destroyed and the principal houses had been looted by the villagers. The Regent, the Senapati and the other brothers had taken to flight and the leading officials were in hiding. Within a month all were captured and the Senapati and the two elder brothers were tried by a Special Commission at which Tekendrajit Singh, alias the Senapati was convicted of waging war against the Queen-Empress and of abetment of the murder of British officers; he was sentenced to death and hanged, as was also the Tongal (Tangkhul) General who was convicted on the same charges by the Chief Political Officer with the force. Kula Chandra Dhaja Singh and his brother were also convicted of the first mentioned charge and were sentenced to transportation for life along with thirteen other persons. In September 1891, the question of the future of the Manipur State was decided by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council and Chura Chand, a minor of five years of age, the son of Chowbi Yaima and a grandson of Nar Singh, was selected as Raja and granted a salute of 11 guns. It was further ordered that the Chiefship of the Manipur State and the title and salute would be hereditary and would descend in the direct line by primogeniture, provided that in each case the succession was approved by the Government of India,

The State has been assessed to an annual tribute of Rs.50,000 and a British officer has been appointed as the Superintendent during the minority of the Raja. A fine of Rs.2 lakhs recoverable in five years has also been imposed upon the State as a punishment for rebellion. Measures had been taken to abolish slavery, the system of ‘lalup’ or forced labour had been done away with and the administration has been placed upon a sound basis.

No, CXXII

(A Translation of the Conditions entered into by Rajah Gumbheer Sing of Manipore on the British Government agreeing to annex to Manipore the two ranges of Hills situated between the eastern and western bends of the Barak, Dated 18th April 1833)

The Goversor-General and Supreme Conncil of Hindoostan declare as follows:

With regard to the two ranges of Hills, the one called the Kalanaga Range and the other called the Noon-jai Range which are situated between the eastern bend of the Barak and the western bend of the Jeeree, we will give up all claim on the part of the Honorable Company thereunto, and we will make these Hills over in possession to the Rajah, and give him the line of the Jeeree and the western bend of the Barak as a boundary, provided that the Rajah agrees to the whole of what is written in this paper which is as follows;

1st - The Rajah will agreeably to instructions received, without delay remove his Thanna from Chundrapore and establish it on the eastern bank of the Jeeree.

2nd - The Rajah will in no way obstruct the trade carried on between the two countries by Bengali or Manipooree merchants. He will not exact heavy duties and he will make a monopoly of no articles of merchandise whatsoever.

3rd - The Rajah will in no way prevent the Nagas inhabiting the Kalanaga and Noonjai Ranges of Hills, from selling or bartering ginger, cotton, pepper and every other article, the produce of their country in the Plains of Cachar, at the Banskandee and Oodharbun bazaars, as has been their custom.

4th - With regard to the road commencing from the eastern bank of the Jeeree and continued via Kalanaga and Kowpoom, as far as the Valley of Manipore, after this road has been finished, the Rajah will keep it in repairs so as to enable laden bullocks to pass during the cold and dry seasons. Further, at the making of the road, if British officers be sent to examine or superintend the same, the Rajah will agree to everything these officers may suggest.

5th - With reference to the intercourse already existing between the territories of the British Government and those of the Rajah, if the intercourse be further extended, it will be well in every respect, and it will be highly advantageous to both the Rajah and his country. In order, therefore, that this may speedily take place, the Rajah, at the requisition of the British Government, will furnish a quota of Nagas to assist at the oonstruction of the road.

6th - In the event of war with the Burmese, if troops be sent to Manipore, either to protect that country or to advance beyond the Ningthee, the Rajah, at the requisition of the British Govemmenti will provide Hill porters to assist in transporting the ammunition and baggage of such troops.

7th - ln the event of anything happening on the Eastern Frontier of the British territories, the Rajah will when required, assist the British Government with a portion of his troops.

8th - The Rajah will be answerable for all the ammunition he receives from the British Government, and will, for the information of the British Government, give in every month a statement of expenditure to the British Officer attached to the Levy.

I, Shree Joot Gumbheer Sing of Manipore, agree to all that is written above in this paper sent by the Supreme Council.

Signed and sealed on the 18th April 1833.

(A true translation)

Signed/
(Gumbheer Sing)

No.OXXIII

(Aqreement of 1834 regarding Compensation for the Kubo Valley)

Major Orant and Captain Pemberton, under instructions from the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, having made over the Kubo Valley to the Burmese Commissioners deputed from Ava, are authorized to state -

1st - That it is the intention of the Supreme Government to grant a monthly stipend of five hundred Sicca Rupees to the Rajah of Manipore, to commence from the ninth day of January One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-four, the date at which the transfer of Kubo took place as shown in the Agreement mutually signed by the British and Burmese Commissioners. After the connection of the British Government with the Manipore Levy and the Supply of Ammunition to the Levy have ceased, this clause is inapplicable to present circumstanccs.

2nd - It is to be distinctly understood that should any circumstances hereafter arise by which the portion of territory lately made over to again reverts to Manipore, the allowance now granted by the British Government will cease from the date of such reversion.
(Signed) F. J. Orant Major,
Commissioners,
R. Pemberton, Captain
Langthabal Manipore,
January 25th, 1884.

7. The Lushai Hills

That portion of the Lushai Hills which was under the Assam administration, is known as the North Lushai Hills and is bounded on the north by the Cachar District and Manipur on the east by the Manipur River, on the south by an imaginary line drawn east and west through the peak marked in maps as Savanga and on the west by the State of Hill Tipperah.

As early as 1826, the British Government found the first record of a raid by the Lushais or Kukis as they were then generally called, on British territory when they attacked a party of Sylhet wood-cutters near the Simla river. From this date to 1888, when Lengpunga made a most successful raid into the Chengri Valley, the Lushais have been a constant source of danger to the British frontier.

In 1844, Lalchokla raided on the Manipuri colony of Kochabari in Partabgarh, killing twenty people and taking six captives. His punishment was rapidly effected. An expedition under Captain Blackwood captured his village. The Chief made an unconditional surrender, was tried and transported. The capture and transportation of Lalchokla is the bright spot in the history of the British relations with the Lushais until the expeditions of 1870 and 1871. In spite of the fate of Lalchokla, frequent raids took place in 1847 and 1849 and in 1850 Colonel Lister's expedition entered the Lushai country and successfully attacked a village belonging to a Chief called Mullah. Owing to the warlike reputation the Lushais then enjoyed, Colonel Lister decided to retire at once, although in sight of the village of Barmoocelin, the greatest of the Lushai Chieftains. Colonel Lister in his report wrote that he considered he would be compromising the safety of his detachment by going further and concluded by suggesting to Government to send a force of some 3000 men into the country the following cold weather. The Government of India, however, deprecated any extended military measures unless further outrage rendered them necessary.

In 1862, a series of raids were committed on Sylhet villages by Sukpilal, at that time the most considerable of the Lushai Chiefs; but proposals to coerce him were for various reasons abandoned. An attempt commenced in 1864, to open negotiations with Sukpilal ended in failure. In December 1868, Sukpilal's followers committed devastations in Hill Tipperah and advanced into Sylhet, plundering and burning villages on their way. Similar outrages were committed early in 1869 by other Lushais on tea gardens in Cachar. A small force in two columns was despatched against these tribes, but, owing to the lateness of the season and scarcity of supplies, returned without fully acoomplishing the objects in view. In December 1869, Mr. Ware Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, visited the Lushai country at the invitation of some of the Chiefs and concluded arrangements with Sukpilal, which on the occasion of a second visit in 1870 were embodied in a Sanad (No. XXVIII) given to Sukpilal and accepted by him, with the reservation that he was only responsible for the security of traders from the Chattachura range of hills to the Sonai, as his authority did not extend east of the river. The result of these negotiations cannot be called satisfactory, for while Mr. Edgar was actually in Sukpilal's village, the Lushais perpetrated the most extensive series of raids they had hitherto attempted in Cachar and Sylhet. The tea gardens of Ainerkhal, Kutlicherra, Monierkhal, Darmiakhal, Nugdigram, Jhalnacherra and Alexandrapur were attacked in succession and at the last named garden, the Manager (Mr. Winchester) was killed and his daughter carried off a prisoner. Similar raids were reported from Hill Tipperah and Manipur.

On the 11th July 1871, orders were issued by the Governor-General in Council for an expedition to be sent into the Lushai country; one column to operate from Cachar and another from Chittagong. This expedition was decidedly successful when compared with the expeditions of former years. Many Chiefs submitted to the General Officers commanding the columns and Mary Winchester was given up. The Lushais were undoubtedly impressed with the fact that their villages were no longer inaccessible to the British and the British gained a large amount of information about them and their country. After this expedition, the Lushais gave no serious trouble until the raids in 1888 on the Chittagong frontier. At the close of the expedition, when the policy to be adopted

was laid down by the Government of India, it was decided that the SyIhet and Cachar frontier should be protected by the British outposts; the establishment of these outposts in Cachar and Sylhet resulted in the British frontier on the Assam side remaining unmolested.

In March 1888, a survey party under the command of Lieutenant Stewart, while engaged in survey operations on the hills about 12 miles north-east of Rangamati on the Chittagong frontier, was surprised and cut up by a Shendu chief named Howsata; Lieutenant Stewart and two European Sergeants were killed and their heads were carried off by the raiders. Owing to the lateness of the season, it was considered inadvisable to make any reprisals until the following cold weather and in December 1888, while the troops were actually being concentrated, a raid was made by a party of Lushais, led by Vutai's sons, on the Pakuma Rani's village which was within a few miles of the police guard at Demagri. Fortytwo persons were killed and sixteen taken prisoners. The raiders, although pursued, succeeded in making good their escape. A still more serious raid, which occurred soon after in the Chengri Valley, was led by Lengpunga and Jarak, sons of Sukpilal and no less than one hundred and one persons were butchered. These raiders also retreated without loss.

The British policy up to 1888 may be summarised as a policy of non-intervention, except when the British were absolutely forced by unprovoked attacks on their subjects to take measures of retaliation. These measures were never sufficient to cause more than a temporary cessation of raids on the British frontier, but, inadequate as they were, they succeeded far better than the British efforts at peaceful negotiation. The latter were invariably followed by fresh outbreaks on the part of the Lushais, who, like all savages, mistook any anxiety for peace on the part of the British for fear, clemency for weakness, and inaction for inability to reach their villages.

The Government of India issued orders on the 19th December 1888 that an expedition should enter the Lushai country, making a good road as it advanced, and should endeavour to establish a post to dominate the raiding tribes and punish such Chiefs as were concerned in the recent raids on the Chittagong frontier and in the murder of Lieutenant Stewart. A force, consisting of 1,200 troops, with two guns was to be employed.

The expedition constructed 42 miles of good hill road to Lungleh, where a stockaded post was established and stocked with eight months' supplies for a garrison of 200 men. A punitive expedition of 800 men succeeded in reaching Howsata's village, which was destroyed. Howsata himself had died some few months previously. Lieutenant Stewart's gun was found in his grave, a conclusive proof of Howsata's complicity in the raids. The last troops retired on the 16th April 1889 from Lungleh, leaving there a garrison of 200 men of the Chittagong Frontier Police with Mr. Murray, District Superintendent of Police, as Assistant Political Officer.

In the open season of 1889-90, two columns operated in the Lushai Hills, one from Chittagong and one from Cachar. The Chittagong column, working from Fort Lungleh as

an advanced base, continued road-making towards Haka, in the Chin Hills, and established a second post at Fort Tregear, midway between Haka and Lungleh. A portion of this column was detached northwards to punish Lengpunga on account of the Chengri valley raid, and the sons of Vutai, Nikama, Lunglena and Kairama on account of the raid on the Pakuma Rani's village. This column called the northern Lushai column, co-operated with the Cachar column of 400 military police, and was instructed, on meeting it, to endeavour to select some suitable spot for the establishment of a post to dominate the Northern Lushai tribes. The villages of Lengpunga, Nikama and Lunglena were burnt, but the Chiefs could not be induced to surrender. A post was established at Fort Aijal with a garrison of 200 men and a second post of 100 men at Changsil, the terminus of the river communication with Silchar.

Captain Browne, Assistant Commissioner, Assam, was appointed Political Officer in the North Lushai Hills and on his arrival at Fort Aijal in May 1890 to take up his duties, the Lushais were informed that they would have to pay tribute and supply the British Government with labour. Captain Browne, however, owing to the weakness of the garrisons in the North Lushai country, was not in a position to enforce his demands and the Lushais, being fully aware of this, declined to obey orders and made a bold effort to throw off the British authority. On the 9th September they ambushed Captain Browne, when on the march from Aijal to Changsil and so severely wounded him that he died shortly after reaching Changsil. The stockades at Aijal and Changsil were simultaneously attacked, as were also all our parties on the road between the two stockades. News of the outbreak was sent to Jhalnacherra by boat, but it was not till nearly three weeks afterwards that re-inforcements reached Changsil, after meeting with determined opposition while ascending the river and losing their commanding officer, Lieutenant Swinton.

Mr. Mcabe, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills district, was appointed Political Officer in the North Lushai Hills, after Captain Browne's death and directed the subsequent offensive operations which resulted in the unconditional surrender of all the Western Lushai Chiefs concerned in the rising. Three of the leading Chieftains, Khalkam, Lengpung and Thangula were sentenced to transportation for life.

Meanwhile in February 1891, an unprovoked attack was made upon Mr. Murray near Fort Tregear. A punitive expedition was promptly organised and carried out its task successfully, heligraphic communication being opened with Mr. Mcabe’s column from Aijal. In the early part of 1891, the arrangements to be made for the administration of the South Lushai Hills were under consideration; and Mr. Murray haying been posted to the newly formed sub-division of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Captain Shakespear, who had rendered valuable services as Intelligence Officer with the troops in 1889-90 and had acted temporarily for Mr. Murray in 1890, was appointed Superintendent with a force of military police under a District Superintendent of Police, as Commandant, and four Assistant Superintendents of Police. It was understood, however, that these arrangements were merely provisional.

The Lushais then remained peaceful for over a year, paying revenue and complying readily with the demands for labour; but on the 1st March 1892, Mr. McCabe, who had gone with a party of one hundred police to enforce a demand for labour with which the Lushais had not complied, was treacherously attacked at Lalbura's village and the assailants were only repulsed after severe fighting. A general rising of nearly all the tribes east of the Sonai between Forts Aijal and Lungleh followed and a similar attack was made on Captain Shakespear, Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills, who was forced to stockade himself at Vansanga's village; while on the 4th April a party of Eastern Lushais raided the Burancherra tea garden, 6 miles from Jhalnacherra on the south-east frontier of Cachar, killing 88 coolies, wounding 10 and carrying off 4 prisoners.

Active operations against the Eastern Lushais were conducted by Mr. McCabe until the commencement of June, with the result that the villages concerned in the rising, and more particularly those implicated in the raids on the Cachar frontier were severely punished, and most of the inhabitants with their Chiefs made full submission. In the end of April a strong column from Fort White, in the Chin Hills of the Burma Command, marched across through an exceedingly difficult and almost entirely unknown country to the assistance of Captain Shakespear, with whom a junction was effected on the 4th May. Successful punitive action was taken against the principal offending villages and Captain Shakespear reported that the Lushais were completely over-awed by the unexpected appearance of the Burma column.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Chin-Lushai Conference, which sat at Calcutta early in 1892, it had been decided to place the whole of the Lushai Hills under the administrative control of Assam, but the transfer of the Southern Hills from Bengal was not carried out before the end of the open season of 1892-93.

8. The Garo Hills

The Garo Hills peopled by a wild race nearly akin to the Meches or Kacharis of the plains were surrounded on all sides except the east by the estates of the great frontier zamindars or chaudharis of Rangpur and Mymensingh. The Garos were in the habit of resorting to the markets in the plains estates of these zamindars for the sale of their cotton and the purchase of the supplies they needed and the police of the border was maintained and taxation levied on the hill produce by the zamindars. The Garos lived in a state of constant internal warfare. The border was vexed by constant raids for the purpose of obtaining heads or prisoners which they required in their funeral ceremonies; and the exactions of the plains zamindars at the plains likewise furnished frequent occasions for quarrel.

The raids of the Garos on the plains being a source of constant trouble Mr. David Scott was deputed in 1816 to report on the best means of preserving the peace of the frontier. He found that at that time the frontier zamindars had for the most part succeeded in reducing a greater or smaller area on their borders to a state of subjection; beyond these areas thus incorporated in their zamindaris, the chaudharis had so far established their influence that several villages in the interior paid them tribute. Beyond these, again, in

the heart of the hills, were the independent Garos. Mr. Scott proposed to separate all the tributary Garos (from whom and from the independent villages beyond, the raids proceeded) from the zamindars' control and take them under Government management, compensating the zamindars for any losses which they might show that they had sustained; to make the Chiefs of the villages thus brought under our jurisdiction responsible for the peace and the collection of revenue; and to bring the submountan under Government control, all duties being abolished there, except upon independent Garos frequenting them. These proposals were approved by Government and afterwards embodied in Regulation X of 1822, which gave Mr. Scott who was appointed Special Commissioner, authority to extend British administration over other Garo communities which might be still independent and exempted the whole tract (together with the district of Goalpara) from the operation of the General Regulations. After the passing of the Regulation, Mr. Scott proceeded to conclude engagements with the independent Chiefs and no fewer than 121 of those living west of the Someswari are said to have entered into terms with him.

In 1866, in consequence of the raids which under the irritation caused by the attempts of the Mymensing zamindars to levy rents in the hills were constantly being perpetrated, the Garo hills were formed into a separate district and placed under the charge of a special officer. A number of villages submitted peaceably; but the independent tribes in the interior continuing to raid upon Garos subject to the British Government, an expedition was sent against them in 1872 which ended in the subjugation of the whole country. Since then the history of the tract has been one of profound peace. In February and March 1881 a slight disturbance took place near Bangalkhata at the north-west corner of the hills in consequence of the construction of a road but it was speedily suppressed without bloodshed.

The area of the Garo hills is 8,149 square miles; the population according to the census of 1891 was 121219. The revenue of the Garo Hills, which was principally derived from a house-tax and in a less degree from fisheries, forest produce and royalty on elephants, amounts to about Rupees 88000 per annum.

9. Cooch Behar (Kuch Behar)

The Rajas of Kuch Behar belong to the non-Aryan tribe of the Bodo origin now largely scattered on the North-Eastern Frontier. More than three centuries ago two brothers named Biswa Singh and Sisu Singh established by their conquests a principality in the North-Eastern part of India. The former is the immediate ancestor of the Rajas and of the Nazir Deos or Ministers of Kuch Behar. Biswa Singh’s son, Nar Narayan, extended his sway eastwards over Lower Assam and at this time the Koch territories must have embraced the greater part of the Dinajpur, Rangpur and other districts, once forming the kingdom of Kamrup, which the Afghan King of Bengal overthrew in 1489. About 1603 the Mughal armies greatly encroached on the State of Kuch Behar until at about the beginning of the last century the Raja's dominions were reduced to their present limits.

The British Government came in contact with Kuch Behar in 1772. The Bhutias, whose trade with Bengal was carried on through the countries occupied by the Koch chiefs appear to have always maintained a connection with Kuch Behar and to have occasionally interfered in its affairs. Some years previous to 1772, the then Raja of Kuch Behar, Dhairjendra Narayan who had a dispute regarding succession with his brother Ram Narayan, deprived the latter of the appointment of Minister. Ram Narayan appealed to the Bhutanese and was re-instated by them. Ram Narayan was, however, subsequently put to death by the Raja whom the Bhutanese then carried off to the hills, appointing his brother, Rajendra Narayan, Raja in his place. On the death of Rajendra Narayan shortly afterwards, the Nazir Deo set up Dharendra Narayan, son of Dhairjendra Narayan, as the Raja of Kuch Behar. The Bhutanese had on their side appointed to the gadi Brajendra Narayan, the son of the captive Raja's elder brother; each party proceeded to support their nominee and the Nazir Deo being worsted and driven out of the country applied to the East India Company for aid. This was granted, after the Nazir Deo had in 1773 concluded, in the name of Dharendra Narayan, a Treaty (No.XXV) by which the Raja agreed to acknowledge subjection to the British Government, to allow the Kuch Behar country to be annexed to Bengal and to make over to the British Government one-half of the annual revenues of Kuch Behar for ever. The other moiety he was to retain on condition of remaining firm in his allegiance to the British Government who, on the other hand, bound themselves to assist the Raja with troops whenever he might require them for the defence of the country, the Raja bearing the expense. Captain Jones, with a small force of sepoys then proceeded to Kuchh Behar dispossessed the Bhutanese and pursuing them to the hills compelled them to make terms with the British Government. A treaty was concluded with Bhutan in 1774 and agreeably to one of its articles, Raja Dhairjendra Narayan was released from confinement. Though in 1776, a Sanad (No.XXVI) was granted to Raja Dhairjendra Narayan conferring on him the zamindari of Kuch Behar, he did not re-assume the government of the State until the death of his son Dharendra Narayan, which occurred in 1780. Raja Dhairjendra Narayan died in 1785 and was succeeded by his son Harendra Narayan, an infant. Disturbances ensued, and in 1788 two Commissioners were sent to conduct a local enquiry and on receipt of their report, a British Commissioner was appointed to the management of the State. The Raja came of age in 1800 and the Commissioner was withdrawn. As however, the Raja could not manage the affairs of the State, Commissioners were re-appointed in 1802 and again in 1805, 1813 and 1817, to supervise the administration. These powers eventually devolved on the Governor-General, North-East Frontier. Harendra Narayan died at Benares in 1839. Shivendra Narayan, a natural son of the deceased Raja, was then placed upon the gadi. Before his death he adopted one of his brother's sons named Narendra Narayan, who succeeded him in 1847. Narendra Narayan being at this time about four years old, the State was governed by Brajendra Narayan Kumar, brother of the late Raja, as Regent. He died in 1857 and the two widows of Raja Shivendra Narayan undertook the management of affairs. In 1862, Raja Narendra Narayan received a Sanad (No.XXVII) guaranteeing to him the right of adoption. He died in August 1863 in the twentieth year of his age and was succeeded by his son Nripendra Narayan, who was made a Maharaja Bahadur in February 1880, and came of age in 1883, when he was installed as Ruling Chief. In 1873, a question arose as to whether Kuch Behar should be designated a State or as an "Estate" or a "Raj"; the decision was that the designation "State" which had been

used in the adoption Sanad granted to the Raja of Kuch Behar by Lord Canning, should remain unaltered. Kuch Behar now therefore bears the designation “State”. During the present Maharaja's minority the State was managed by the Commissioner of Kuch Behar and Rajshahi, and an officer, corresponding in position to a Deputy Commissioner of a non-regulation district in British territory, was in immediate charge. The State and its people prospered remarkably during the British administration. The annual revenue demand on all accounts increased from Rs.8,37,025 to Rs.11,26,843; the British rupee was made the legal tender in the State; an improved system of land settlement and the general principles of administration in force in British districts were introduced without interfering with any special local customs and traditions; subdivisions were established; the police were re-organised; numerous schools were opened; the postal department was placed under the Post-Master-Oeneral of Bengal; a line of telegraph was carried through the State; considerable sums were spent on roads, bridges and public offices and large savings in Government securities were made over to the Maharaja on his installation.

The State paid a tribute of Rs.67,700-15. This amount was permanently fixed in 1780. The area of the State is 1,307 square miles and the population at the census of 1881 was 602,624. The provisional returns for the census of 1891 show a population of 578,868, but as the report of the census operations had not yet been received, no explanation of the apparent decrease could be given at that time. It is possible that the provisional figures were inaccurate. The military force consisted (1891) of 192 men and four field guns. The Maharaja received a salute of 13 guns. He administered the State with the assistance of a Council of which he himself was the President and which was composed of the Superintendent of the State, who was Vice-President, the Diwan, who was Revenue Member, and the Civil Judge, who was the Judicial Member; the officers holding these posts had been lent by the Government of India.

In the year 1878 His Highness was married to the eldest daughter of the late Babu Keshab Chandra Sen of Calcutta and shortly after left India on a visit to England. A son and heir was born in 1882. The second child a daughter, was born in 1885. A second son was born in 1886 and a third and fourth in 1888 and 1890. In June 1884 His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General granted a sanad declaring hereditary the title of Maharaja Bahadur conferred in 1880 upon Nripendra Narayan, and authorizing the assumption of this style by future rulers on the formal recognition by the Government of their succession. The Maharaja's assumption of the distinctive titles of “His Highness” and “Bhup Bahadur” by which designations he was to be addressed in all official correspondence was also sanctioned; the latter title which is an old family distinction was thus formally recognised.

In the year 1887 His Highness again visited England, accompanied by Her Highness the Maharani and family. He was graciously received by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and the Royal Family and the decoration of a Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire was conferred on him. The Maharaja is also an Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel of the 6th Regiment of Bengal Cavalry and Aide-de-Camp to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

The Fatit Churcha Settlement was concluded in 1886-87. An increase of Rs.68824 was obtained from this source. A re-settlement of the State has since been concluded and the increase, which is progressive, will amount to about Rs.21 lakhs in 1895-96. The demand for the year 1891-92 was Rs.10,86,350. The estimated total revenue for the year (exclusive of Chaklajat, Panga, and Darjeeling receipts) was Rs.13,87,472. A Palace was built and almost all the State Office establishments had been accommodated in permanent buildings. In 1887, the Victoria College was opened in commemoration of the Jubilee of Her Most Gracious Majesty's reign. The Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division was ex-officio Political Agent, Kuch Behar.

Treaty No.XXV

(Treaty with the Rajah of Cooch Behar - Articles of Treaty hetween the Honorable East India Company and Dharender Narain, Rajah of Cooch Behar - 1773)

Dharender Narain, Rajah of Cooch Behar, the present distressed state of the country, owing to its being harassed by the neighbouring independent Rajahs, who are in league to depose him, having represented to the Honorable the President and Council of Calcutta, the Honorable the President and Council, from a love of justice and desire of assisting the distressed, have agreed to send a force, consisting of four Companies of Sepoys for the protection of the said Rajah and his country against his enemies, and the following conditions are mutually agreed on:

1st - The said Rajah will immediately pay into the hands of the Collector of Rungpoor 50,000 Rupees, to defray the expenses of the force sent to assist him.

2nd - If more than 50,000 Rupees are expended, the Rajah will make it good to the Honorable the English East India Company, but in case any part of it remains unexpended, it will be delivered back to the Rajah.

3rd - The Rajah will acknowledge subjection to the English East India Company upon his country being cleared of his enemies and will allow Kuch Behar country to be annexed to the Province of Benga1.

4th - The Rajah further agrees to make over to the English East India Company one-half of the annual revenues of Cooch Behar for ever.

5th - The other moiety shall remain to the Rajah and his heirs for ever, provided he is firm in his allegiance to the Honorable United East India Company.

6th - That in order to ascertain the value of the Cooch Behar country, the Rajah will deliver a fair picture as regards the revenue administration of his districts into the hands of such person as the Honorable the President and Council of Calcutta shall think proper to depute for that purpose, upon which valuation the annual revenue, which the Rajah is to pay, shall be established.

7th- The amount of the malguzary, settled by such person as the Honorable the East India Company shall depute, shall be perpetual.

8th - The Honorable English East India Company shall always assist the said Rajah with a force when he has occasion for it for the defence of the country, the Rajah bearing the expense.

9th - This Treaty shall remain in force for the space of two years, or till such time as advices may be received from the Court of Directors, empowering the President and Council to ratify the same for ever.

This Treaty signed, sealed and concluded by the Honorable the President and Council at Fort William on the fifth day of April 1773, on the one part and by Dharender Narain, Rajah of Cooch Behar at Behar Fort, the 6th Maug 1179 Bengal style, on the other part.

No.XXVI

(Translation of the Sunnud under the seal of the Hon'ble English Company, dated the 13th of February 1776 A.D., corresponding with the 4th of Fagoon 1182 Bangla and the 22nd of Zijhijeh of the 17th year of His Majesty's reign)

Be it known to all mutwalies at present holding important trusts or who may be hereafter appointed thereto and to all Kanongoos and Moqudums and ryots and cultivators and other inhabitants and natives of Surkar, Cooch Behar, in the Soubah of Bengali the paradise of countries, that as the orders of the gentlemen in Council have been signed, that a Sannud for the zemindaree of the above Surkar should be granted to Dhujinder Narain, accordingly(the above person) having agreed to pay the peshcush of Government of fifty gold-mohurs agreeably to the order, the office of zemindar of the above Surkar, vacated by (the death of) Dharender Narain, has been granted, confirmed to, and bestowed upon Dhujinder Narain; that observing the duties and usages of the office and the rules of the truth and dignity, he depart not in the minutest particular from a vigilant and prudent conduct, but avoiding sloth and consulting the interest of the ryots and inhabitants, and conciliating their affections, that he so conduct himself that his utmost endeavours may be exerted for the increase of cultivation and the improvement of the revenue. He must further pay great attention to expelling and punishing offenders, so that the least vestige of thieves and robbers may not be found within his limits; and take particular care of the highways, so that travellers and strangers may go and come with perfect confidence and safety. God forbid that the property of any one should be stolen or plundered: but should such a case occur, he must seize the thieves or robbers and the property, delivering up the goods to the owner and the offenders to justice; and if he cannot find (the thieves and the goods), he must answer for the party himself. He must also take care that no one indulges in forbidden practices within his limits. He must pay the revenue regularly year after year at the stated period; and at the end of the year, according to custom, he will receive credit for his payments. He will further abstain from the collection of all exactions forbidden by Government. You are hereby required to

acknowledge the above person as zemindar of the above Surkar, and to consider him as vested with the powers and appendages thereof. On this point paying the strictest obedience, yon will act as above directed.

On the 17th of February 1776 A.D. corresponding with the 8th Fagoon 1182 Bungla, and the 26th of Zijhieh in the 17th year of His Majesty's reign, the copy was received in the Dufter.

(True translation)

(Sd.) D. Scott,

Commissioner,

1819.

No.XXVII

(Sunnad granted to the Rajah of Cooch Behar - 1862)

Her Majesty being desirous that the Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who now govern their own territories should be perpetuated and that the representation and dignity of their Houses should be continued, I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, convey to you the assurance that, on failure of natural heirs, the adoption by yourself and future Rulers of your State of a successor according to Hindoo law and the customs of your race will be recognized and confirmed.

Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you so long as your House is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the Treaties, grants, or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

Dated 11th March 1862

(Sd.) Canning

10. Tipperah

The Rajas of Tipperah (Tripura), as revealed in the Rajmala, are of the Kirata stock, the Bodos. The family appears to have adopted the Brahminic Hinduism at least 400 years ago from now. Like all other converts in their position they have taken the status of the Kshatriya caste and claim descent from the Lunar Race. The family name is at present Dev Barman though this is a very recent assumption, dating from the revival which has followed, within the last 200 years, the spread of Sanskrit among the middle classes. All Kshatriyas may be called Barman (armour), as all Brahman may be called Sharma (might). The distinctive family name was and still is Manik (a jewel); their annalist says

that the name was ‘Pa’ or ‘Fa’ up to 1279 A.D., when Tughral, then Governor of Bengal, conferred on the family the appellation Manik.

There is no trustworthy account as to the limits of the ancient State of Tipperah; but at various times it gained conquests and possessions, which carried its armies from the Sundarbans in the west to Burma in the east, and from Kamrup in the north to Burma in the south. The military prestige of the Tipperah Rajas was at its height during the sixteenth century, and it was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Mughals obtained a footing in the country. About 1620, however, in the reign of Jahangir, a Mughal force invaded Tipperah under the command of Nawab Fateh Jang. The capital was taken, and the Raja was sent a prisoner to Delhi. He was offered his State again on condition of paying tribute, but refused. The Mughal troops, after occupying the country for two and a half years, were forced by an epidemic to leave it. Eventually, however, the Nawab of Murshidabad seized on a large portion of the territory in the plains and parcelled it out among his Musalman nobles.

The western and southern portions of Tipperah are included in Todar Mall’s rent-roll, but they were only conquered, according to Grant, in Shah Jahan's reign. In 1728, or according to the annalist 1732, there was a reconquest, when Tipperah was placed on the rent-roll under the name of Roshanabad, a large number of Mughal troops were posted in the country, and in the course of a few years Tipperah became a Mughal province. In 1765 Tipperah came under British rule. Krishna Manik was made Raja by the aid of the English, in succession to the former Mughal Governor. Krishna Manik died about 1780. There being no Jubraj his Rani, Janhovi Mahadevi ruled the country for some time; but eventually at her request Government recognised her nephew Rajdhar Manik as Chief. At the death of Rajdhar Manik towards the close of the last century anarchy prevailed. Ultimately in 1808 the British Goverоment recognised Durga Manik as Raja. On the death of Durga Manik Ram Ganga who had been a rival claimant was appointed Raja by the British Government. He died in 1846 when he was succeeded by his brother Kasi Chandra Manik, who was in turn succeeded in 1850 by another brother, Krishna Kishor Manik. Krishna Kishor Manik died in 1850, when his son Ishan Chandra Manik was recognised as Chief. On his death in 1862 the succession was disputed, but the question was eventually decided in 1870 in favour of the late Chief’s brother Bir Chandra Manik, the present Raja. In 1871, a Political Agent was appointed to reside at Agartala, the Raja's capital. The main object of the appointment was the protection of British interests on the frontier, which were in especial danger from Lushai raids. This tribe, in retaliation for the Raja's proceedings against it, was in the habit of carrying its incursions into British territory. It was explained to the Raja that the Government of India in sending an Agent to Agartala had no intention of adopting a policy which would prejudice his interests or which would interfere with the lawful and proper exercise of his authority within his State. In 1878 the Political Agency as a separate post was abolished; the Magistrate of Tipperah being appointed ex-officio Political Agent, while a Native Deputy Magistrate was stationed at Agartala as Assistant Political Agent. From this time forward the maladministration of the Maharaja was the subject of frequent report and special steps were at length taken in 1889 to introduce much needed reforms. After lengthy negotiations it was decided that the Maharaja should appoint for five years a minister

with full powers of administration. The selection of the minister was to be made by the Maharaja in consultation with the Political Agent; in pursuance of this arrangement the Maharaja, in March 1890, appointed Rai Umakanta Das Bahadur, the Assistant Political Agent, to be Minister of the State, and all duties in connection with the Political Agency have been transferred as a temporary measure to the ex-officio Political Agent.

The change has already been attended by good results. The revenue of Tipperah in the year 1890-91 was a little under ten lakhs of Rupees, and the expenditure about nine and a qaarter lakhs. The British Government has no treaty with Tipperah; nor does it receive any tribute. The Raja of Tipperah is the holder of very considerable zamindaris in the British districts of Noakhali, Tipperah and Sylhet in the plains along the border of the State.

Succession is determined in the same peculiar way as in Manipur. The ruling Raja has the power of nominating any of his brothers or sons as his successor under the title of "Jubraj" and a successor to the "Jubraj" under the title of "Bara Thakur". On the Raja's death the "Jubraj" becomes Raja and the "Bara Thakur" becomes "Jubraj" and in turn Raja even to the exclusion of the Raja's natural heirs. The eldest son, however, succeeds if no nomination has been made. In the case of a disputed succession the decision of the British Courts of Law regarding the zamindaris in the plains is accepted as carrying with it the right to the Chiefship of Hill Tipperah.

Nazarana is taken on succession the position of the Raja having been declared by the Government of India in 1870 to be that of a feudatory. The area of Hill Tipperah is 4,086 square miles; the country is hilly and covered with dense forests. More than 1000 square miles in the interior are believed to be uninhabited. The population as ascertained in 1881 was 95,637 of which the hill tribes numbered about 49,915. The returns of the last census (1891) show a total population of 1,87,442. The advance in population for the ten years 1881-91 has thus been at the rate of nearly 44 per cent, for the whole period; the density per square mile is however only 38.6. The income derived from the hills is Rupees 3,12,465, while the zamindaris have a gross rental of over Rupees 6,00,000. The principal trade is in cotton and timber. The Raja has (1891) a military force of 314 men, besides 100 armed Binandias or tahsil sepoys. The State has neither field artillery nor cavalry. The Chief receives a salute of 13 guns. In 1877 Government conferred upon the Chief the title of Maharaja as a personal distinction.

Since the establishment of the Political Agency marked improvements have taken place in the general administration of the State. Extradition of criminals escaping into British territory is allowed according to the general law and rules on the subject. Offenders who escaped from British territory and took shelter within the State were surrendered through the Political Agent to the British Courts. With the consent of the Maharaja the country has been both trigonometrically and topographically surveyed by the Government.

The question regarding the southern, western and northern boundaries between the State and British territory was for a long time a constant source of trouble. It was however, finally settled in 1865 and all disputes which had arisen in connection with the matter

were decided by arbitrators appointed by the Government of India and the Tipperah State. The eastern boundary was also much unsettled, a circumstance which frequently gave rise to complications between Tipperah subjects and the Lushais. To put a stop to this the Government in 1874, decided that the Lungai River should be the boundary between the Lushais and Tipperah towards the east and communicated its decision to the Maharaja. The river Pheni is the recognised boundary on the south between Chittagong and Tipperah. The existence of coal in the subdivision of Kailashahr and Sonamuna was brought to notice in 1886, but the extent and capacity of the same have not been ascertained. The practice of Sati in Hill Tipperah was forbidden by an order of the Maharaja in 1888. The disturbances in the Lushai Hills during the last few years have led to the migration of a considerable number of people from the Chittagong Hill Tracts into Hill Tipperah. Tripura joined India in 1949.

Lushais

To the east of Tipperah lies the territory of the Lushais who are called Kukis by the Hindus, and who in former times owed allegiance to the Rajas of Tipperah. The Lushais are impatient of control, and they became independent in 1826 during the confusion which attended the disputed succession to the Chiefship of Tipperah and which was followed by a series of raids on the Sylhet border. One occurred in 1826, while the next raid of consequence was in 1844. The latter was led by the Chief Lai Chokla and his cousin Botai and there was reason to suspect the Tipperah Raja of connivance. The Manipuri colony of Kochabari in Partapgarh was attacked, twenty persons were slaughtered and six carried off as captives. As the Tipperah Raja failed to obtain the surrender of the offenders, an expedition was sent into the hills under Captain Blackwood. Lai Chokla's village was besieged and he finally surrendered on the 4th December. Lai Chokla was tried and transported. In 1849 a number of outrages were committed upon Tipperah and upon Kuki settlements within our territories in Cachar and Sylhet. Such settlements have always been the especial objects of attack in these frontier raids. The political relations on this frontier were at that time in the hands of Colonel Lester, and that officer by a judicious employment of the Kukis, that is of the Lushais domiciled within our borders, as soldiers, and by an expedition undertaken to punish the Lnshais for these depredations exerted such a salutary influence over them that for some time they gave no trouble. Communication with them became frequent. Bengali traders were going up to their villages and returning with ivory and wax in return for salt, clothes etc.

In 1862 a series of raids was committed on Sylhet villages by Sukpilal, at that time the most considerable of the Lushai Chiefs, but proposals to coerce him were for various reasons abandoned, and in 1864 an attempt to open negotiations with him ended in failure. In December 1868 Sukpilai’s followers committed devastations in Hill Tipperah and advanced into Sylhet plundering and burning villages on their way. Similar outrages were committed early in 1869 by other Lushais on tea gardens in Kachar. A small force in two columns was despatched against these tribes, but, owing to the lateness of the season and the scarcity of supplies the troops returned without fully accomplishing the objects in view. In December 1869 Mr. Ware Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Kachar,

visited the Lushai country at the invitation of some of the Chiefs and concluded arrangements with Sukpilal, which on the occasion of a second visit in 1870 were embodied in a Sanad (No. XXVIII) given to Sukpilal and accepted by him with the reservation that he was only responsible for the security of traders from the Chattarchura range of hills to the Sonai, as his authority did not extend east of that river.

In 1871 serious raids were committed on Hill Tipperah, Sylhet, and Kachar by the Lushais, and especially by the two cognate tribes of Sailus and Howlongs. A strong force in two columns was directed against the offending tribes. The tribes of Vonpilal, Poiboi and Vonolel, the most powerful Chiefs, were reduced to submission; the fine imposed was paid; the captives were recovered; and verbal agreements were taken from the Chiefs to live amicably with all British subjects from Manipur to Arracan and to allow free access to their country. This expedition produced for a time the desired effect; it shewed the Lushais that their recesses were not inaccessible to a British force, and that their inroads into British territory or into allied States would be duly punished. Since that time no raids have taken place on Hill Tipperah; but in 1888 four raids were committed on British territory which were more serious than any that had occurred since 1871.

A general northward movement of the Lushai tribes with whom we were originally acquainted, has been for some time past taking place, and has been caused partly by the search for india-rubber, for which there is a brisk demand and partly by the pressure of other powerful tribes who are advancing from the south-east and among whom are the Lushai tribes of Puis and Soktes. This migratory tendency was first brought to notice in 1875-76. Subsequently to 1875 three bazars were established in the Lushai country and were supplied by native traders from Kachar. They were located on the three principal streams flowing out of that country; at Changsil (formerly Bepari bazaar) at Sonai bazaar, and at Tipaimukh. The bazaars increased for a time in size and importance but their growth was checked by the exactions of the Chiefs, and subsequently they fell off seriously owing to the failure of the supply of rubber brought in by the tribes. At the present time they are all closed.

In 1876-77 hostilities broke out between the Eastern and Western Lushais; the former under the Chiefs Lalbura, Chunglen and hungte; the latter under the Chiefs Sukpilal, Khalgom, and Lenpunga. Each party invoked the intervention of the British Government on its behalf. They were told in reply that the request could not be entertained except on a joint application for mediation.

In 1877, Mr. Luttman Johnson, Deputy Commissioner of Kachar made a successful tour through Lushai country. In 1878 the Changsil bazaar, which is under Sukpilal's protection, was plundered by a party of Lushais. Sukpilal was called upon to pay the losses of the merchants which he ultimately did. Sukpilal died in the end of 1880. This was a matter of regret as latterly his great influence had been steadily exerted towards the maintenance of friendly and conciliatory relations with the British Government. On his death the quarrels between the Eastern and Westetn Chiefs were prosecuted with renewed vigour. In 1881-82 famine prevailed in the country. Measures of relief were inaugurated by the British Government when the pressure of want began to be felt; the three principal

Chiefs met and agreed to a cessation of hostilities. The scarcity abated on the setting in of the rains, whereupon the internecine quarrels of the tribes broke out afresh.

In January 1883 a small party of Sokte or Kamhow Lushais plundered the Tipaimukh bazaar and carried a boy as a captive. The captive, the plunder, and a fine of Rupees 460 were subsequently recovered through the Manipur Raja.

In December 1888 symptoms of turbulence appeared among the Eastern Chiefs and it became known that they were meditating raids on British tenitory. Measures were at once taken for the protection of the border. The Lushais however quieted down and nothing further happened. The policy of sending one of the Kachar officers to pay a friendly visit to the principal Chiefs from time to time was followed with success. The frontier posts were carefully maintained, and the military branch of the frontier police was placed on an improved footing. Settlements of parties of these border tribes within the British boundary are not permitted except after sanction duly asked and obtained, and on sites specially assigned. These sites are invariably chosen at a considerable distance within the border, in order to prevent raids on the settlements, and to obviate the chance of disputes arising between the communities, and the risk of our being involved in their feuds. The sources of information about Lushai matters were much circumscribed by the closing of the three bazaars, the establishment of which is referred to above. The Tipaimukh bazaar has not been opened since the attack on it in January 1883. The Sonai bazaar was plundered by some of the Chief Khalgom's men, and as no reparation was afforded the traders refused to return. Lastly the Changsil bazaar was gradually abandoned, trade being unprofitable. Nearly all the Lushais referred to are under the control or influence of the Government of Assam, but some of the Howlongs and the recently formed tribe of Puis or Molienpuis are at present under the Bengal Government.

No.XXVIII

(Translation of the Sunnud given to Sookpilall - 1871)

The order of the illustrious Government

Be it known to the Looshai Lall (Sookpilall) and to all other Lalls, Muntrees and people of Looshai villages between the Tapai and Tipperah Hills.

The illustrious Government has laid down the following line of division:

From Chutturchoora to the mouth of Bhyrubbee Cherra from the mouth of Bhyrubbee Cherra to Bhyrubbee Tillah, from Bhyrubbee Tillah to Kolosep Tillah, from Kolosep Tillah to Noongvai Hills, from Noongvai Hills to Koobecherra Mookh, which falls to Sunai Nuddee, and it has ordered that the country to the north of the said line shall be called Cachar and the Marthinlong or Northern Looshai lands; on the other side of that line of division shall be called the Looshai hills. The name Marthinlong or Northern Looshai includes those people who drink the water of the Toavai, Tipai Tuirel or Sonai Tin par or Rukni Sinlong or Dullessur and Kloong Doong or Outtur.

The illustrious Government has further ordered that (Sookpilall) and all other Looshai Lalls, Muntrees and people shall not in any way injure or annoy any of the people of Sylhet or Cachar. If any Looshai suffers any injury or annoyance at the hands of Cachar or Sylhet people and wishes to have his wrongs redressed, he must make a request to that effect to the Burra Sahib (Deputy Commissioner) of Cachar who has been ordered by Government to do justice in such cases. The Lalls and Muntrees of the Looshais shall be answerable for the safety of all merchants and wood-cutters going to the Looshai hills to trade or cut timber.

There are as is known various hill tribes known as Simthinlong drinking the water of the river flowing to the south. If they or the people dwelling in the east of the Tipai are about to attack or annoy any people of Cachar or Sylhet, and if Sookpilall or others know of it and cannot prevent them from passing through their villages, then they must at once give information to the Burra Sahib (Deputy Commissioner) of Cachar. If a dispute arise between Sookpilall and the people of the Rajahs of Munnipoor or Tipperah, he or they may inform the Burra Sahib (Deputy Commissioner) of Cachar, who will endeavour to get the matter enquired into. When the Burra Sahib of Cachar or any Government Officer who may be deputed by him goes to visit the Looshai hills, Sookpilall should meet him in person or by deputy at some place to be appointed from time to time within the hills. If in any year no Europran Government Officer goes to the hills, then Sookpilall shall send to the Burra Sahib (Deputy Commissioner) at Doodpate (Silchar) some respectable Looshais.

If at any time all the above orders of Government are not carried out, the said Government may revoke this Snnnud and pass such orders as it thinks proper. But as long as Sookpilall shall obey all these orders and any similar ones which the Government may issue from time to time for the preservation of peace on both sides of the above mentioned line, the Government will not interfere with the affairs of their villages, and will leave them in the undisturbed possession of their village land.

Dated 16th January 1871

Source:

1. A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads in Relation to India and Neighboring Countries – by C. J. Aitchison

2. The Imperial Gazetteer of India – Vols. VI and XXIII

Reconstruction of the Ancient History of Bengal

Ancient Period:

The history of Bengal particularly the one pertaining to the pre-Muslim period cries for a thorough review and the reconstruction thereof would be an ardous task due to various factors including the paucity of sources. While taking to write about the history of ancient Bengal, the references appearing in the Buddhist texts, the Jaina narrations, the Vedas, the Epics and the Puranas may help to understand the topography, demography, ethnicity and fabrics of the social background of the region and as such, may have to be gone through. Yet the narrations appearing in these literatures may not be sufficient to derrive conclusive historical events, none the less, they would provide us directions to appreciate the probable demographics of the time and their civilizations. Archaeological reports would throw some light on the studies of ancient India including Bengal which have catered to the needs of gathering reliable materials for bringing out historical facts that were shrouded in antiquity. DNA reports have also helped to spell out the distribution of ancient human race and their movements. All these records would have to be read together and analyzed for determining historical indications related to ancient society that are most often ignored while taking to write the Puranas and the ancient Indian history. Modern writers have already hinted in their writings to pronounce the Puranas and the ancient Indian history in so far as they relate to the genealogy of ancient Indian dynasties as unreliable if not false. Therefore, there is a strong need of rewriting the ancient history of India. As regards the history of ancient Bengal, it is stated; "The early literary records point to non-Aryan ethnic character of the original inhabitants of Bengal. This non-Aryan character is also supported by the linguistic evidences. According to Sylvian Levi, the primitive peoples of Bengal and the neighboring provinces spoke a language which was neither Aryan nor Dravidian but belonged to a separate family of speech. In the eastern part of Bengal Mongolian elements are visible." (Studies in Ancient India, P.505 – by Prabhatangsu Maiti) The statement correctly represents the people living in ancient Bengal. Admittedly, during the rule of Chandragupta, western part of Bengal was annexed to the Maurya kingdom. This would indicate that a wider territory of Bengal including East Bengal did not form the part of Mauryan kingdom. If the people of ancient Bengal did not speak in Aryan and/or Dravidian tongue and that only western Bengal became a part of Mauryan kingdom that too only during the rule of Chandragupta, who were then the masters of ancient Bengal before or after Chandragupta?

"Possibly Kiratas and Cinas dominated the ancient period. Changlang (eastern parts of Arunachal Pradesh) might have formed the core of Kirata Pradesh extending from Bengal and Bihar to South China encompassing the catchment areas of the valleys of Chindwin, Irravati, Salween, Mekong, Menam and Brahmaputra." (Tribal Culture, Faith, History and Literature, P.14 – by Narayan Singh Rao) This statement testifies not only the Kiratas' territory in ancient India but also it is in line with the theory that the Kiratas spread from Anatolia in the West to China in the East and Siberia in the North and to the Indian Peninsula in the South. According to N. S. Rao, a vast territory formed a Bodoland as he writes, "The Kirata clans who lived and dominated the politics of Arunachal Pradesh were Bodos, Kacharis and Chutias. The Tangsa and the Tutsa of Changland,

Arunachal Pradesh refer the term 'Fisa', 'Bodo', 'Hellons' etc. conferring the presence of some Kirata people in Tirap valley." (Ibid, Pp.19, 20) The statement relating to Pragjyotishpura, made by N. S. Rao is in consonance with the recitals appearing in the Mahabharata and therefore, it can safely be accepted. Joe Bindloss has gone beyond the age of Mauryans as he says, "By the first millennium B.C., a kingdom known as Pragjyotishpura had risen in modern day Assam. ---- By the 7th century B. C., four large States had taken shape on the sub-continent. In Bengal, the powerful kingdom of Magadha rose to prominence covering most of West Bengal, Bangladesh and Bihar." (North-East India, P.27 – by Joe Bindloss) During the age of the Buddhism and the Jainism, the people of Bengal were dehumanized as Dasyus and Barbarians which would suggest that Bengal was beyond the pale of the Buddhism and/or the Jainism. The indigenous people of Bengal and Kamarupa had however accepted the Buddhism during the rule of the Pala kings. On further researches, it could be unearthed that "The eastern part of India, even when Aryanised, preserved considerable differences from the midlands in point of language, ethnic elements and culture, and this undoubtedly explains the origin of the two heterodox sects in this very reason. The Sakya clan had a Mongolian strain in their blood." (The Age of Imperial Unity, P.283) Then again, "In Magadha, Anga, Vanga and Kalinga the Non- Aryans were very strong in those territories and consequently not absorbed by the Aryans. The non-Aryans constituted to have their own social organization." (Ancient India, P.103 – by V. D. Mahajan) "The kingdoms of Magadha and Anga were beyond the pale of Aryan civilization either. There was dislike for Magadha in the Rigveda and the same was continued even during the period of later Vedic civilization. This is abundantly proved by a reference in the Atharva Veda that evil things like fever should go to Magadha and Anga." (Ancient India, P.137 – by V. D. Mahajan) "The Aitarya Brahmana refers to the Pundras (North Bengal) as dasyus living beyond the pale of Aryan civilization. Baudhyayana in the Dharmasutra regarded the Pundras and Vangas as impure barbarians." (Ibid – P.504) Then, "We hear of one Paundraka-Vasudeva who claimed to be Vasudeva or Krishna. He united under him Vanga, Pundra and Kirata. He made an alliance with Jarasandha of Magadha against Krishna." (Ibid – P.504) Therefore, it has to be accepted that "the Kiratas, Cinas and Mahacinas controlled a vast tract extending from South West of China to Kartoya in the West, Tibet in the North and sea coast (Bay of Bengal) in the South. Pragjytishpura was ruled over by Kirata chiefs." (Tribal Culture, Faith, History and Literature, P20 – by Narayan Singh Rao) The Kirata rule over the entire parts of Eastern-India stretching from the present Uttar Pradesh has been confirmed by the Kurma Purana as it recites in Chapter 45, "Purve Kiratastasyante paschime Yavanastatha: Brahmanah Kshratriya *Vaishya madhye Shudrastathaiva."* Puranas are believed to have been composed post 7th century A. D. Sailendra Nath Sen testifies; "The Mauryas exercised some sort of autority over the deltic as well as the Northern Bengal. An epigraphic record (Brahmi record in Mahasthan) of the Maurya period refers to Pundranagara as a prosperous city continued to flourish even after the fall of the Mauryas. --- Immediately before the advent of the Guptas, there arose new kingdom in Bengal. In eastern part appeared the kingdom of Samatata and in western Bengal the kingdom of Pushkarna in Bankura district. Simhavarmana ruled Pushkara beginning 4th century. He was succeeded by his son Chandravarmana. Samudragupta defeated Chandravarmana. North Bengal came under the Gupta rule during Kumaragupta-I." (Ancient India History and Civilization, P.274 –

by Sailendra Nath Sen) We are made to believe that the Mauryans, Guptas and Varmans are all linked to Kirata-Lichchavis of the Mongoloid stem. Therefore, without an iota of doubt one is in a position to say that Kiratas, the progenitors of the modern Bodos were the lords of these places till they were subsumed in the process of Aryanization. From the Gupta period onwards we get some written records in the form of epigraphs and literature which contain information on the history of the 'region' including Bengal.

Background:

While continuing with the discussion on ancient Bengal, one may go through the recitals regarding the earliest period of Bengal, highlighted in Banglapedia that are as follows;

"In the earliest period, Bengal was known to be inhabited by different groups of people, whose names came to be associated with the area inhabited by them. Thus the ancient janapadas of Vanga, Pundra, Radha and Gauda came to be recognized as inhabited by non-Aryan ethnic groups bearing those names. Samatata was an important janapada in the trans-Meghna region of Bangladesh in its south eastern part (Comilla-Noakhali area). The name of this janapada was purely descriptive and had no ethnic connection. The Chittagong area with its adjacent areas was known by the name of Harikela. The existence of these janapadas is known from later Vedic literature, as areas inhabited by non-Aryan people.

It took a long time for the Aryans to reach the eastern limits of the subcontinent. Thus the people of Bengal felt the tide of Aryanization quite late. By the time Aryan influence reached Bengal, it had become feeble during its long march through the entire area of northern India. Thus the pre-Aryan elements in the culture of the people of Bengal got time to become deeply rooted and even under Aryan influence, which was feeble, they retained many elements in their life and culture which were non-Aryan and pre-Aryan." It is appropriate to clarify here that Aryanization of Indian primitive people is the result of the process of restructuring the old Indian societies. No Aryan ever entered into India from abroad.

To continue with the discussion, one may cite, "Archaeological discoveries during the 1960s have furnished evidence of a much higher degree of civilization in certain parts of Bengal even at such a remote period as the beginning of the first millennium BC, perhaps even earlier. The discoveries at Pandu Rajar Dhibi in the valley of the Ajay river (near Bolpur) in Burdwan district and in several other sites on the Ajay, Kunar and Kopai rivers have thrown fresh light on Bengal's prehistory. Pandu Rajar Dhibi represents the ruins of a trading township, which carried on trade not only with the interior regions of India, but also with the countries of the Mediterranean world. It is evident from Vedic literature that the Aryans regarded the peoples whom they met in Bengal as barbarians. But the evidence of the higher material culture that has come to light in West Bengal proves beyond any doubt the invalidity of the Aryan idea. But at the same time it must be said that Aryan settlement, which took place gradually over a long period of time, profoundly affected its culture and the process of gradual Aryanization forms the chief point of interest in the subsequent history of the region."

It has also been pointed out, “Greek and Latin sources (3rd century BC - 1st century AD) refer to an eastern Indian nation/state called 'Gangaridae' (Greek)/ 'Gangaridai' (Latin) which was very strong militarily. Scholars have located 'Gangaridai' in parts of southern and south eastern Bengal, adjacent to the mouths of the Ganges (Bhagirathi and Padma). An inscription written in the Brahmi script, found in an excavated site of the old Pundranagar, now represented by the ruins at Mahasthan in Bogra district, bear testimony to Maurya rule (3rd century BC) in parts of Bengal. This inscription, the earliest epigraphic record in Bangladesh, seems to have established the identification of ancient Pundranagar with modern Mahasthangarh (Mahasthanagad) of Bogra district. Pundranagar is thus the earliest urban settlement in Bangladesh. Archaeological excavations prove the existence of this urban administrative and cultural centre throughout the ancient period, up to the 12th century AD.

The Arthashastra of Kautilya refers to the fine cotton fabric of Vanga (south-eastern Bengal) as an important item of her trade throughout India. The Greek and Latin writers (more or less of the same period) also mention it. Thus it may be emphasized that the tradition of weaving fine cotton cloth goes back to a very early period. It was this item of south eastern Bengal, which in the 16th and 17th centuries AD earned worldwide fame as the 'Muslin' of Bengal, and specifically of Dhaka. It may also be mentioned here that the making of terracotta plaques is also a very old art tradition in Bengal. Terracotta plaques have been found in the excavations at Pandu Rajar Dhibi, which prove the antiquity of this art in Bengal.”

Yet, no attempt appears to have been made in the Indian history to interpret the true meaning of the term ‘Gangaridai’ and to espouse the true history of ancient Bengal. Pravatangshu Maiti has pointed out, “After reaching the Beas when Alexander was contemplating the invasion of the Gangetic valley, information reached him that the king of Gangaridai and Prasioi were waiting at the head of a powerful army to resist him. The war-weary soldiers of Alexander refused to march further to meet them. --- By the term Gangaridai, the classical writers meant ‘the people of the Ganges region.’ --- Ptolemy describes that the kingdom of Prasioi, whose capital was at Palibotra (Pataliputra) extended as far as the Ganges and probably included Tamralipta. His description leaves the impression that the Gangaridai lay beyond the Prasioi.” (Studies in Ancient India, Pp.507, 508 – by Pravatangsu Maiti) As could be gathered from ancient texts, namely, the Epics, the Mudrarakshasa, the Buddhist texts etc., Nanda-Maurya-Kiratas were ruling over Magadha with its capital at Palibotra when Alexander invaded India. Beyond Magadha, lay Pragjyotishpura which extended up to the sea in the South. Admittedly, Pragjyotishpura was under the rule of Bhauma dynasty during the time. The Mahabharata confirms that the army of the Bhauma dynasty consisted of Kiratas and Cinas. The region of Gangaridai which was beyond Magadha would undoubtedly fall within the territory of Pragjyotishpura as there was no intervening kingdom between the Maurya kingdom and Pragjyotishpura. Suzanne Olssan has observed in her book, ‘Jesus in Kashmir – The Lost Tomb’ that Pragjyotishpura included in it the territory of Bihar. These narrations would lead to only one conclusion that the powerful army of Gangaridai which frightened the Greek army was none other than the strong army consisting of the Kiratas and the Cinas. Mudrarakshasa unfolds that both Parbataka and Chandragupta had Kiratas in their forces.

The Mahabharata confirms the army of Bhagadutta as of the Kiratas and the Cinas. These revelations would tell us beyond an iota of doubt that during the time of Alexander's invasion, not only the Kiratas had settled and spread in India from Punjab in the west to Pragjyotishpura in the east but also they ruled over this entire region. Now that 'Gangaridai' being accepted as the term to denote a country that is near and/or adjacent to the Ganges, one can safely vouch that the term has a root in the Bodo Prakrit. In the Bodo Prakrit, 'ganga' means 'to quench' and 'dai' means 'water' or 'river'. The water which catered to the needs of quenching the thirst of the people was called by the Bodos as 'Ganga' and the people living and/or the places situated by the sides of the river were called 'Gangaris''. In a later stage, the region of Gangaridai got divided into four political units known as Pundravardhana, Radha, Vanga and Samatata and then subsequently these units came to be known under one name Bengal or Bangala or Bangal. The fact that Bengal was the country predominantly inhabited by the people of the Bodo stem could also be proved by the statement of Muslim writer Abul Fazal as he is stated to have said, "The country came to be known as Bengal or Bangala because there were many dams or Als for irrigation and flood control. Thus 'Bang' + 'al' or 'Bang' + 'Ali' made the name Bengal or Bangal." (Studies in Ancient India – P.504 – by Pravatangsu Maiti) A person having a little bit knowledge of the Bodo vocabulary would agree that the terms 'Bang' and 'Ali' are the Bodo words which mean 'many' and 'dams' respectively. The Bodos possessed expertise in irrigation and they are found to possess the trait till to day, with their practice of building dams and/or making drainages for providing water to their paddy fields. Huen-Tsang has also confirmed the fact that the Bodos used to supply water to their paddy fields by building dams. The Bodo terms forming the word 'Bengal' and the Bodo practice of constructing dams for irrigation would cumulatively suggest that the Bodos of Bengal had taken to cultivate since the dawn of the Indian civilization.

The Banglapedia continues, "It is generally accepted that the history of Bengal from the fall of the Mauryas (2nd century BC) to the rise of the Guptas (4th century AD) is obscure. The discovery of some beautiful terracotta figurines at Mahasthan, Tamralipta (modern Tamluk in West Bengal) and Chandraketugadh, datable in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC has prompted the scholars to believe that Bengal might have continued to flourish in the Sunga and Kusana periods. The accounts of 'The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' and Ptolemy have been accepted as evidence to say that in the first two centuries of the Christian era the whole of deltaic Bengal was organized into a powerful kingdom with its capital at Gange, a great market town on the banks of the Ganges. Prevalence of a widespread trade between Bengal and China as well as other countries has also been traced after the discovery of the Silk route that passed through Bengal and Assam. The Milinda-Panho mentions Vanga in a list of maritime countries where ships congregated for the purpose of trade.

It is likely that on the eve of Gupta expansion under Samudragupta (4th century AD) Bengal remained divided into independent states. By about the middle of the 4th century AD most independent states came under Samudragupta's rule. Samatata (The trans-Meghna region comprising the Comilla-Noakhali area) was outside his empire, but was reduced to the status of a tributary state. Samudragupta's son and successor, Chandragupta II consolidated his possessions in the east and had to wage wars against the

Vangas. Gupta suzerainty over Samatata might have come at a later stage and by the end of the 6th century AD this area appears to have been ruled by a king with his name ending with Gupta (Vainyagupta). Several copper-plates of 5th century Gupta emperors (Kumaragupta- Budhagupta) found in northern Bengal prove that Gupta rule was then well established in that area. They also testify to the existence of a well-structured local administration, in which the representatives of the local people had the opportunity of playing an important part. It goes to the credit of the Gupta emperors that they established an administration in Bengal in which the participation of the local people was ensured. The set-up of the local administration, as evidenced by Gupta copperplates, is undoubtedly the earliest instance of local self-government in Bengal and its significance cannot be overestimated.

Under Gupta rule Bengal was an important province. The period of the Imperial Guptas is generally considered to be the golden age of Indian history. During this period India was under a strong benevolent central government, which brought peace, wealth and prosperity for a considerable time. Bengal enjoyed the benefit of being a part of the All-Indian empire, in which there prevailed efficient administration and political stability. This period is remarkable for its trade and commerce, in which Bengal had her due share. Fa-hsien, the Chinese visitor, states that in the east Tamralipti was the great emporium of trade. The discovery of a large number of Gupta coins and imitation Gupta coins in Bengal prove the economic prosperity of the region under the Guptas." However, as discussed elsewhere in this book, one is advised not to give much credence to the purported inscriptions of the Gupta kings as many of these are found posthumous intended to glorify the Gupta rule. None the less, Kiratas, Sakyas, Mauryas and Guptas are cognates as revealed in the Mudrarakshasa and Mahavamsatika. Mr. Chandra Chakravarthy has also confirmed it in his 'History of the ancient Indian Literature'.

Shashanka @ Songt- Sen Gampo

It has been stated by the historians that the break-up of the Gupta Empire, the invasions of the Hunas and the sudden entry and exit of Yashodharman on the political stage of northern India dealt great shocks to eastern India. The later Guptas are believed to have swayed over Bihar, western and northern Bengal. There was a long-drawn-out struggle between the Maukharis and the later Guptas for the possession of Magadha (southern Bihar) and parts of western and northern Bengal. By the beginning of the seventh century Shashangka is stated to have captured power in Gauda. Magadha formed a part of his dominions. But then who was Shashanka and what is his origin? Shashanka is stated by the classical writers as the first known king of Bengal to extend his suzerainty over territories far beyond the geographical boundaries of that province. But we have no authentic information about the early life of Shashangka as well as the circumstances under which he occupied the throne of Gauda. Prof. R. D. Banrjee is of the view that Shashanka belonged to the house of later Guptas. (Banglar Itihas, Vol. I Pp91, 92) H. C. Raychaudhury has refuted the statement of R. D. Banerjee in his 'Political History, P514'. Nagendra Nath Basu believes, "Sometimes between 636 A.D. to 645 A. D., the Chinese traveler Yuang Chuang visited Eastern India. It was then divided into the following divisions;

i. Magadha – 5000 li,
ii. Hiranyaparvata – 3000 li,
iii. Charap – 4000 li,
iv. Kayangali – 2000 li,
v. Pundravardhana – 4000 li,
vi. Kamarupa – 10000 li
vii. Samatata – 3000 li,
viii. Karnasuvarna – 4450 li,
ix. Udra – 7000 li,
x. Tamralipta – 1400 li and Kongoda – 1000 li.

At the time of Harshavardhana, the first five were held by Guptas, Kamarupa by Bhaskarvarma of Bhauma dynasty, Samatata by Rajabhata, Karnasuvarna or Radha, Kongoda and Udra were the dominions of Shashangka.

We would be justified in holding the view that from the year 606 A. D. in which Narendra Gupta was defeated and killed by Harsha to 620 A. D., "Shashanka Deva was the acknowledged ruler over the whole of Eastern India. The fact that Shashanka was not connected with the Gupta dynasty by any ties of relationship is proved by the evidence furnished by his seals and coins. The coins stamped by the earlier as well as the later Guptas all bear the image of the goddess Kamala but the coins of Shashanka are marked on one side with the figure of Siva mounted on a bull and on the other with that of Kamala seated on a lotus." (Social History of Kamarupa, Chapter I – the Bhauma dynasty in Eastern India, by Nagendra Nath Basu) Admittedly sometimes before 606 A. D., Shashangka liberated Gauda from the yoke of the later Guptas and became its king. His capital was the city of Karnasuvarna which Beveridge has identified with Rangamati near Behrampur in Murshidabad district. Shashanka disappeared from the Indian political scene after he was defeated by the joint forces of Harshavardhana, the king of Thaneswar and Bhaskarvarma, the king of Kamarupa sometime around 637 A. D. This is what has been narrated in the Indian history about Shashangka. Even assuming not conceding as thought by some writers that Shasangka was of the later Gupta dynasty, he would then have to be regarded as the descendents of Lichchavis as the Guptas claimed themselves as the sons of Lichchavi princess Kumaradevi. That apart, we may now examine the issue on the basis of the recitals appearing in the records maintained in foreign countries about Shashangka and his political territory. Chinese and Tibetan records disclose that Songt-Sen Gampo founded Tibetan empire sometime in 605 A. D. at Gyama in Maldro, East Lhasa and ruled till about 655 A. D. Songt-Sen Gampo is believed to have been born sometime between 569 A. D. and 593 A. D. in a Lichchavi family. "The Tibetan king Songt- Sen Gampo also claimed Lichchavi origin similar to the claims made by Mallas." (An Introduction to the Studies of Indian Histry, P.343, Notes to Chapter IX – by D. D. Kosambi) In other words, Guptas, Licchavis, Mallas and the dynasty of Songt-Sen Gampo belong to one racial origin. Songt-Sen Gampo was the son of Namri Songste, the king of Yarlung. Songt-Sen Gampo was enthroned while he was still a minor of 12/13 years as the thirty third king of the Yarlung dynasty after his father was poisoned. His mother was Dringma Togo of the Tsepong clan. Songt-Sen Gampo moved the capital of Yarlung dynasty from Yarlung to Lhasa. Songt-Sen Gampo married among others,

Bhrikuti Devi, the Lichchavi princess of Nepal. Princess Bhrikuti was a Buddhist in faith and she influenced Songt- Sen Gampo to get converted into Buddhism. Thus Buddhism was first introduced in Tibet during the reign of Songt-Sen Gampo. Songt-Sen Gampo founded a powerful kingdom in Tibet. He led a victorious campaign to India including Kamarupa and Bengal and the campaign is still commemorated in both Bengal and Assam. Songt-Sen Gampo did vanish from the Indian scene sometime in 637 A. D. "The invasion of the Tibetan king Songt-Sen Gampo dismembered the kingdom of the later Guptas in Eastern India." (Ancient India History and Civilization, P275-by Sailendra Nath Sen) Dr. R. C. Majumdar is of the opinion that "The Tibetan king Songt-Sen-Gampo conquered Assam, overthrew the dynasty of Bhaskarvarma in Kamarupa and extended his sway upto Gauda and other parts of Northern India. The Tibetan invasion had far-reaching effects. Nepal passed under Tibetan rule for almost two centuries. Bengal suffered from frequent Tibetan inroads even up to the ninth century. "The Ladaki chronicles refer to Tibetan conquests of Bengal up to the sea." (Bangalir Itihas, P289-by Dr. N. R. Roy)

The bitter truth is that the Tibetan attack on India did not end with the retreat of Songt-Sen Gampo to Tibet. When Songt-Sen Gampo was ruling over Nepal and Tibet, Harshavardhana died and his minister Arjun usurped the throne of Kanauj. By that time Songt-Sen Gampo embraced the Buddhism on the influence of his Lichchavi wife from Nepal. In Kanauj, Arjun attacked and humiliated the mission of the Chinese Embassador Wang Heuen Tse who visited India after Heuen Tsang had returned to China. This not only enraged both Bhaskarvarma and Songt-Sen Gampo but also annoyed China. This episode would tend to say that the Chinese, Songt-Sen-Gampo and Bhaskarvarma maintained close relationships to each other. When Heuen Tse with an intention to teach Arjun a lesson sought assistance from Songt-Sen Gampo and Bhaskarvarma, they readily agreed to punish Arjuna for his evil deed. Mawrong Khampa Jong who was then the vassal of Songt-Sen Gampo in Nepal and certain parts of North Bengal was directed to attack Kanauj. Mawrong Khampa Jong assisted by the strong force of Bhaskarvarma attaked Kanauj. In the war, Arjun was defeated and was taken as a war prisoner to Peking. Hence, it is generally stated that the influence on ancient Bengal was of the Bodic culture, more particularly Tibet and China.

Now, we may analyse the episodes and narrations made earlier above. It is stated that Shasangka attempted to establish a North Indian empire and defended the independence of the Gauda Empire against a very powerful northern Indian adversary, Harsavardhana. So also Songt-Sen Gampo attempted to establish his kingdm in North India including Bengal. Historians from Bengal opine that it was no mean achievement on the part of Shashanka to have preserved his own sovereignty against such a powerful adversary. For a king of Bengal it was a great show of strength to have ventured into northern Indian politics. There can hardly be any dispute in regarding him the first important king of Bengal, who could launch Bengal for the first time in her history on aggressive endeavors to establish supremacy over northern India. In this sense he was the fore-runner of the aggressive northern Indian policy of the later day Pala rulers like Dharmapala and Devapala. His capital, Karnasuvarna, has been identified with Rangamati, six miles southwest of Beharampur in the Murshidabad district of West Bengal.

It would thus be clear that Shashanka is stated to have ruled Bengal with his capital at Karnasuvarna during the first half of the seventh century till about 637 A. D. His origin and/or racial details are not disclosed in the Indian history. He is stated to have appeared like a comet in the political sky of North India, particularly in Bengal and vanished all of a sudden leaving no clue as regards his disappearance. Then again, during the same time, the State, i. e., Gauda is stated to have been under the rule of Tibetan king Songt-Sen Gampo. He is stated to have first defeated Bhaskarvarma and made attempts to establish a North Indian empire and then when defeated by the joint forces of Harshavardhana and Bhaskarvarma, he defended the independence of the Gauda Empire. Indian history and/or Tibetan history do not mention any conflict between Shashanka and Songt-Sen Gampo. Had there been Shasangka ruling over Gauda during the period from 605 AD to 637 AD, it would have been quite normal that he would have resisted Tibetan king Songt-Sen Gampo if the latter would have attempted to snatch Gauda and/or Bengal from him. No such resistance and/or conflicts are ever reported in the Indian history or in any literature. To the contrary, Indian history talks about the conflicts between Songt-Sen Gampo and Bhaskarvarma. He also fought against Harshavardhana. With a view to resist the expansion of Shasangka, Harshavardhana and Bhaskarvarma are stated to have jointly fought against him and the latter was supposedly killed sometime in 637 A. D. Similarly, Songt-Sen Gampo is stated to have retreated to Tibet on his defeat by the joint forces of Bhakarvarma and Harshavardhana in the same year. How was it possible that the two powerfull kings ruled over the same kingdom at the same time but they had never met each other? The answer is that Shasangka and Songt-Sen Gampo were not different persons but they were only two names of the same person.

I. S. Chemjong in his book 'The History of Kirata People' has stated about the Tibetan attack on Kanauj after the death of Harshavardhana. The Tibetans would have naturally occupied and settled in India particularly in Gauda following the conquest. These regions are also adjacent to the Himalayas over which the Tibetans held their sway. Therefore, as pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, it was quite possible that the Lichchavis who were none other than the people of Songt-Sen Gampo dynasty established their kingdom under the Kharga kings in Bengal after the death of Bhaskarvarma, the king of Kamarupa. Thus it is revealing and manifest that Shashangka and Songt-Sen Gampo were not two different personalities but they were merely two identifications of the same person. The name of the Tibetan king Songt-Sen Gampo was softened as Shashangka similar to the words 'Sindhu' and 'Buddha' were softened as 'Hindu' and 'Bodo' respectively. Songt-Sen Gampo was thus called and identified as Shashangka in the Indian history. Songt-Sen Gampo was compelled by the joint forces of Bhaskarvarma and Harshavardhana to retreat to Tibet. He is stated to have ruled over Tibet till up to 655 A. D. On the death of Harshavardhana, he attacked North India again and made attempts to establish his kingdom in North India. It may be mentioned here that the Tibetans are called as Li-Tais by the Chinese people and as such, they were identified as the sons of Li family, the Lichchavi. The Bodos forming a separate group of the same race do maintain a close affinity to them. During the reign of the Mech-Bodo kings of Salastambha dynasty, Khargas established a separate kingdom in South-Eastern Bengal. They were however, destabilized by the mighty force of the Salastambha dynasty. All the kings of

Salastambha, Kharga and Pala dynasties draw their lineage from the Bhauma dynasty founded by Narakasura, the son of Mother Earth and Vishnu.

Khargas

The Indian history does not appear to espouse the cause of Kharga dynasty of Bengal as there are very scanty discussions on the Khargas of Bengal. Khargas had ruled over Bengal during the period when the kings of Salastambha dynasty were ruling over Kamarupa and some parts of Bengal. Evidences are galore to show that Bengal was under the successive rule of the Pragjyotishpura and/or Kamarupa kings, particularly during the rule of Bhagadutta and his successors. The Mahabharata tells about the territory of Bhagadutta to reach out the sea in the South. During the years when the Mahabharata was being composed, entire Bengal was within the Pragjyotishpura territory and while the Kamarupa princess Amrit Prabha was married to Meghavahana, the prince of Kashmir, the territory of Pragjyotispura extended to the west to include in it the territories of Magadha and Kosal. Shri Harshadeva of Salastambha dynasty extended his kingdom as far as Orissa, Magadha and Kosala. Lalitaditya, the king of Kashmir was frightened by the imperial Salastambha dynasty and treacherously killed Shri Harshadeva of Kamarupa. But by then his people had established a kingdom in Orissa to rule over there for about three hundred years.

As regards the Khargas we can read in the history books as follows; "Two copper plate inscriptions at Asarfpore in Dacca and Deulbari, Commilla have thrown some light on the history of Kharga dynasty. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has suggested that Khargas came from Tibet and Nepal to East Bengal in the wake of the political turmoil that followed the death of Harsha.

From the Chinese evidence it appears that the Kharga dynasty ruled in the later half of the seventh century A. D. over East Bengal, Southern Bengal and Central Bengal. The names of four kings of the Kharga family are Khargadyama, Jatakhargo, Devakhargo and Rajarajabhata." (Studies in Ancient India, Pp.527-528 – by Pravatangsu Maiti) These statements are strong enough to show the real identification of the Khargas and that they belonged to the Tibeto-Burman stem of the Bodo group. The rule of the Khargas in Bengal was undoubtedly the result of Songt-Sen Gampo's dominion over Bengal. The rule of Kharga dynasty was however destabilized by the kings of Salastambha dynasty another branch of the same Tibeto-Burman stem. Khargas were the people to introduce Durga Puja in Bengal. Prabhavati, the queen of Devakharga got an idol of Gurga Devi made in gold. "The metal image which was unfortunately stolen shortly after its discovery bears an inscription which states that the image represents the goddess Sarvani and it was gilded in gold leaves by queen Prabhavati, the wife of king Devakharga. Besides supplying important iconographic information, this inscription may be used as a valuable guide to the dating of metal sculptures since Devakharga is known to have lived in the late 7^{th} century. Even if Prabhavati outlived her husband and perhaps gilded the image in the early 8^{th} century, the piece could have been made in the late 7^{th} century since it has to have been in existence before it could be gilded. Some have suggested that

Khargas were direct relations of the Palas. Kharga lineage is stated to be (i) Khargadyama, (ii) Jatakharga, (iii) Devakharga, (iv) Rajabhata and (v) Balabhata.

This inscription thus confirms what can be seen in style and technique and is supported by history. The format of the history, namely, that the image is a prototype of the earliest Pala period metal sculptures. The format of the image, with the central figure and her two smaller attendants, became a standard formula in Pala period Art. The rounded prabhamandala unifies the three figures and may be considered to represent the insipient stage of the Pala period format." (The Pala-Sena Schools of Sculpture, Pp.27-28 – by Susan L. Huntington) Thus it is clear beyond a reasobable doubt that not only the Khargas were of the Tibeto-Burman stem but also the Palas of Bengal were of Tibeto Burman origin. The Palas were none other than the Buddhist Khargas of Bengal which we are taking up for discussion later.

Pala Dynasty

For more than a century, roughly from 650 to 750 AD, the history of Gauda is stated to be obscure in the extreme. The period was marked by political chaos and confusion caused by the death of Harsavardhana (646 or 647 AD), the usurpation of his kingdom by his ministers, and the adventures of the Chinese envoy Wang-heuen-tse were followed by the invasions of the powerful king of Tibet, Songt-Sen-Gampo. In the second half of the seventh century AD Bengal saw the emergence of the Khargas in Vanga and Samatata (southern and southeastern Bengal). The dynasty, however, does not appear to have succeeded in establishing a strong rule in Bengal.

In the first half of the 8th century A. D., Bengal was overwhelmed by repeated foreign invasions, the most notable of which was the invasion of Yashovarman of Kanauj (725-752 AD). The glories of Yasovarman were soon eclipsed by Lalitaditya of Kashmir. The Kashmiri historian Kalhana refers to five Gauda kings defeated by Lalitaditya and this clearly indicates a state of political disintegration in Gauda, which became a field of struggle for the local chiefs who assumed independence in the absence of any central authority. The successive foreign invasions destroyed the political equilibrium and hastened the process of disintegration.

In the century following the dynasty of Shashanka, Bengal saw very little of stable government and the whole country was torn by internal strife and disturbed by invasions from outside. The condition of Bengal towards the middle of the 8th century AD, before the rise of Gopala found mention in one of the Pala records (Khalimpur copperplate) as a state of matsyanyayam. Lama Taranath, the Tibetan monk who wrote his History of Buddhism in India in 1608 A. D. confirms this and writes: "... every Kshatriya, Grandee, Brahman and merchant was a king in his own house (or in the neighbourhood) but there was no king ruling over the country." Gopala, the founder of the dynasty, emerged out of this chaos as the ruler, and as mentioned in the Pala copperplate, put an end to the state of lawlessness (matsyanyayam).

The Sanskrit term matsyanyayam has special significance. The Kautilya Arthashastra explains the term as follows: ‘when the law of punishment is kept in abeyance, it gives rise to such disorder as is implied in the proverb of fishes, i. e., the larger fish swallows a smaller one, for in the absence of a law-enforcing authority the strong will swallow the weak’. The contemporary Pala record uses this significant term to describe the prevailing political situation in Bengal. It was a situation of complete lawlessness arising out of the absence of a strong ruling power capable of enforcing law and order. Gopala emerged at the helm of affairs in Bengal and succeeded in putting an end to the state of matsyanyayam.

Origin of the Palas

Events leading to Gopala's rise to power have been a matter of controversy among historians. Some have argued that the people elected Gopala as their king. Without going into the details of the controversy, it may be said that Gopala came to occupy the throne at a time when there was chaos and confusion and he must have had the support of a group of influential people or leaders and his success in putting an end to the state of matsyanyayam (anarchy) may have earned popular support for him. It is claimed in the Pala records that Gopala "attained everlasting peace after having overcome the power of those who were acting according to their own desires", or in other words those who had created the situation of matsyanyayam in Bengal.

“The Palas were ordinary people and did not have any royal connections. Poet, Haribhadra who was a contemporary of the second Pala king Dharmapala, suggests that the Palas belonged to the Kharga dynasty of eastern Bengal.” (A History of Ancient India, P.373-by Arun Bhattacharjee) There is no reason why the statement of Haribhadra regarding the origin of the Palas cnnot be accepted. “The Pala official records mention that Gopala’s father was Vyapata and his grand father was Daitya Vishnu. They are mentioned in very general terms without any royal or exalted status. On the basis of a statement of Haribhadra, contemporary of the second Pala king Dharampala, some scholars have suggested that the Palas were connected with king Rajabhata of the Buddhist Khadga of Eastern Bengal.” (Studies in Ancient India, P.530 – by Pravatangsu Maiti) Further, the Chinese records tell us that the Khargas ruled over eastern Bengal and a considerable portion of Southern and Central Bengal in the latter half of the seventh century A. D. Now, we may examine the origin of the Bengal-Palas from a different angle. In Kamarupa, the kings of Pala dynasty have been identified as the kings belonging to the Bhauma dynasty of Bhagadutta. Abul Fazal, the Muslim scholar has identified the Palas of Bengal as Kayasthas. Then again in the Upa-Puranas like Yama Samhita, the Kayasthas of Gauda-Bengal are linked to Bhagadutta, the king of Kamarupa. The Palas of Bengal are then believed to belong to the Chandi cult. In this regard, the statement made by Dr. Romila Thapar recited by Arun Bhattacharjee may be mentioned. It says: “Gopala was chosen king to avoid a state of anarchy in the land. The Buddhist monk Taranath, writing a history of Tibet in the sixteenth century, has refered to this effect. He states that Bengal was without a king and suffered accordingly. The local leaders gathered together and elected a king, but on each occasion a demoness killed him night following his election. Finally, Gopala was elected and he was given a

club by the goddess Chandi (one of the names of the consort of Siva) with which to protect himself and he killed the demoness with his club and survived. The story suggests that Gopala was elected because of his ability as a leader and protctor, and in all likelihood he was a follower of Chandi cult." (A History of Ancient India, Pp.373, 374 – by Arun Bhattacharjee) Now see the relationship between the Palas of Bengal and the Bhaumas of Pragjyotishpura. In Pragjyotishpura, the people of Bhauma dynasty worshiped the Godess Kamakhya, the consort of Lord Siva. Kamakhya is one of the names of the wife of Lord Siva. Goddess Chandi and godess Kamakhya are two different names of the same goddess. The statements of Haribhadra and Abul Fazal read with the stories recited by Taranath and Romila Thapar would undoubtedly tell us that the Palas of Bengal and the Bhaumas of Kamarupa belonged to the same cult. "Dr. R. C. Majumdar is of the opinion that the evidences supplied by Ramcharita would show that Varendri was the ancestral home of the Palas and the Gwalior inscription indicates that Dharmapala was Vangapati or Lord of Bengal. These two records make it almost certain that the original home and the early kingdom of the Palas were both confined to Bengal." (Studies in Ancient India, P.531 – by Pravatangsu Maiti) This also gives us only one conclusion that the Palas of Bengal belonged to the Tibeto-Burman stock of Mongoloid stem as no record has ever told us about the rule of any people other than the Tibeto-Burmans, over the region during that period.

Further, we are in a position to read; "The great imperial assembly which Dharmapala held at the famous city (Kanauj) was attended by the vassal kings of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhara and Kirata. In the presence of of this assembly he consecrated himself, both literally and figuratively, as the suzereign of North India. We are told that the assembled chiefs, with bowed heads, acknowledged the new political status of Dharmapala, while the sacred water of consecration was being poured over his head from a golden pitcher by the elders of Panchala." (Ancient India, P.284 – by Dr. R. C. Majumdar) Now pose here for a moment. Why was there a need of consecration for Dharmapala? We are told that Chauhanas, Chalukyas, Gurjaras and Pratiharas were purified by performing a yajna at Mount Abu before they were declared as the Rajputs of Agnikula because they were of the Scythian stem originally not following the Brahminic rules. Similarly, the Bodo kings of Coch Behar, Kachar and Tripura were consecrated by performance of Hiranyagarbha ceremony before they were declared as the Kshatriya kings. The consecretion of Dharmapala as cited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar is similar to the consecrations of Rajputs and Rajbangshis and the event shows beyond a reasonable doubt that Dharmapala was beyond the pale of Brahmanic Aryan culture and as such when he became the mighty lord of Northern India, he was acknowledged as their lord by the performance of the consecration ceremony thereby bestowing on him the status of a Kshatriya. In whatever angle they are viewed, the facts mentioned above, would lead to show that the Palas of Bengal and the Bhaumas of Pragjyotishpura and/or Kamarupa do maintain a single genealogy that of the Mongoloid Kiratas who were beyond the pale of Aryanization when the Brahminic Hinduism took to spring up in mid-India.

We are certain from the history books of the writers, among others, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. S. K. chatterjee, Arun Bhattacharjee, Dr. Romila thapar and Prabhatangshu Maiti that

‘The dynasty founded by Gopala in the middle of the 8th century AD, ruled Bengal for about four hundred years through many vicissitudes. During this long period of eighteen generations of kings we notice ups and downs in the fortunes of the dynasty. But there can hardly be any doubt regarding the fact that the rule of the Palas formed a glorious chapter in the history of ancient Bengal. The history of the long line of Pala rulers can be viewed under different phases: (I) Period of Ascendancy under Dharmapala (c 781-821 AD) and Devapala (c 821-861 AD); followed by a (II) Period of Stagnation (c 861-995 AD) to be rejuvenated by Mahipala I (c 995-1043 AD), who is considered to be the second founder of the dynasty; and the last phase, (III) a Period of Decline and Disintegration, which was halted briefly by the vigorous rule of Ramapala (c 1082-1124 AD). But the Pala Empire did not last long after him and the final collapse came with the rise of the Senas in the third quarter of the 12th century AD.

The period of ascendancy saw the vigorous rule of Dharmapala and Devapala. In this period the Palas were powerful enough to bid for the mastery of northern India. In this quest they were involved in a tripartite struggle with the Gurjara Pratiharas of western India and the Rastrakutas of southern India. When Bengal saw the rise of the Palas, the Rastrakutas wrested power from the Chalukyas in the Deccan, and the Gurjara Pratiharas consolidated their power in Malwa and Rajasthana. In northern India there was a vacuum after it was swept over by Yashovarman and Lalitaditya. So during the subsequent two generations northern India with its traditional central seat at Kanauj felt a rush on the part of these three powers to fill up this vacuum.

During Dharmapala's reign there were two phases of this tripartite struggle. Though he suffered reverses in the first phase, he achieved some success in the interval between the first and the second phases. He succeeded in advancing his influence up to Kanauj, where he put his protege Chakrayudha to rule for some time. The Pala Empire extended beyond the boundaries of Bengal and Bihar as far as Kanauj. He may have pushed his empire in other directions as well, but we are not sure about the amount of his success. In the second phase of the tripartite struggle Dharmapala tasted reverses. But there is very little doubt that he succeeded in maintaining his hold outside Bengal and Bihar. Dharmapala's name stands out in the annals of the Pala dynasty as a great conqueror under whose leadership Bengal's influence came to be felt in northern India for quite some time.

Dharmapala was a devout Buddhist and a great patron of Buddhism. He is credited with the foundation of the Vikramashila monastery (at Patharghata, 6 miles to the North of Colgong and 24 miles to the East of Bhagalpur in Bihar), which was one of the most important seats of Buddhist learning in India from the 9th to the 12th century AD. Somapura Mahavihara at Paharpur (in Naogaon district of Bangladesh) is another monumental architectural work of Dharmapala.

Devapala, the son and successor of Dharmapala, maintained the aggressive policy of his father and during his reign the struggle for supremacy over northern India continued. He may have had some initial success, but ultimately the Gurjara Pratiharas succeeded in establishing their empire over Kanauj and adjacent territories. The Pala Empire, however,

was extended in other directions, towards the southwest into Orissa and towards the northeast into Kamarupa.

The reigns of Dharmapala and Devapala formed the period of Pala ascendancy. These two rulers consolidated their empire in northern and western Bengal and in Bihar. Under them Bengal, for the first time in her history, came to be reckoned as a powerful force in North Indian politics. Bengal could hold its own against powerful rivals. There were all round conquests. But with the death of Devpala the period of glory and a period of stagnation followed which gradually led to decline and disintegration until the Kingdom was rejuvenated by Mahipala I.

The period of stagnation continued for more than a hundred years covering the reigns of five generations of kings. In this period the energy and vigour which were so manifest during the reigns of Dharmapala and Devapala were totally absent. Hardly was there any attempt at expansion, and the Pala kings were not even powerful enough to check incursions from outside or uprisings from inside. The Kambojas rose to an independent position in parts of western and northern Bengal in the middle of the 10th century AD and for a time the Pala Empire was confined to parts of Bihar only. The existence of Kamboja Gaudapatis is known from epigraphic records."

While talking about the Kamboja Gaudapatis, one may have to go back to the rule of Songt-Sen Gampo for recollection. It would be found that Maw Rong Khampa, the Vassal of Songt-Sen Gampo after defeating Arjun following his insult to Heuen Tse, occupied North India upto Mithila. He then divided his country into four provinces namely, Khambuwan, Limbuwan, Lepchan and Marong. All these provinces were of Tibeto-Burmanas and as such it may be reiterated that Gauda was one of the regions predominantly occupied by the Kirata-Lichchavis who were at times called the Kiratas, the Bodos, the Kacharis, the Khargas, the Koches, the Tharus, the Khambus, the Meches and the Rajbangshis. Different faith, tongue, culture and religion they accepted from time to time, divided them into various different groups with different identifications and nomenclatures. Having split on the basis of language, religion and culture, they never looked back in terms of reunion on the basis of their racial origin. The vast Khambuwan region of Songt-Sen Gampo encompassed Gauda and Kamarupa.

The following are accepted as the historical facts. 'The reign of Mahipala I (c 995-1043 AD) brought back some vitality and gave a second lease of life to the Pala Empire. He succeeded in bringing back the lost territories in northern and western Bengal and restored the position of his dynasty to a firmer footing. But during the reigns of his successors up to that of Ramapala, the fortunes of the dynasty seem to have fallen to their lowest ebb. The repeated invasions of north Indian powers (Kalachuris and Chandellas) showed the apparent weakness of the Pala kings. But the weakness of the Pala rulers was clearly exposed during the reign of Mahipala II (c 1075-1080 AD) when the revolt of the Samantas succeeded in establishing the independent rule of the Kaivarta chief Divya in Varendra (northern Bengal). When the central authority becomes weak it is natural that the forces of disintegration should play their part. The success of the Vaidyas in Bengal is the most glaring example of this tendency.

The vigour and energy of Ramapala (c 1082 - 1124 AD) was the last significant flicker in the life of the Pala dynasty. He succeeded in restoring Pala authority in northern Bengal and in demonstrating vigour in expansion programmes. But his success was short-lived and his successors were too weak to check the gradual decline. Vijaysena, possibly a feudatory ruler in the Pala Empire, found opportunity to gather strength, and by the middle of the 12th century AD the Palas were ousted from their possessions in Bengal.' Bengal saw the emergence of a new power, the Senas, under the leadership of Vijayasena, whose ancestors are stated to be the Brahman-Kshatriyas hailing from the Karnata country in Southern India. The term, 'Brahman-Kshatriya' is the out come of the concept that the Kayasthas of Gauda-Bengal originated from the sons of the mythical figure Chitragupta who had married two girls, namely, a daughter of a Kshatriya and a daughter of a Brahmin. Since some of them are surmised to have born from a Brahmin mother and some are from a Kshatriya mother to constitute the Kayastha clan of Bengal, they are eulogized as the Brahman-Kshatriyas which is nothing but a travesty of truth. The truth is however revealed when it is stated in the Yama Samhita that the Kayasthas of Gauda-Bengal owe their origin to the Kamarupa king Bhagadutta who owes its origin to the Bodo-Kiratas.

The following have also secured acceptance from all. 'The long rule of the Pala dynasty, spreading over about four centuries, gave to Bengal the blessings of a stable government. The Palas could establish a sound administrative structure. Their land-based empire was basically agrarian in nature. Trade and commerce was not that important a factor in Pala economy. Trading activities were possibly limited within the region or at best extended beyond the borders to the adjacent territories. The decline of the port of Tamralipti after the 8th century AD deprived them of the outlet necessary to have a share of the sea-borne trade of Bengal.

The long Buddhist rule of the Palas generated an environment of religious toleration in Bengal and we notice an atmosphere of Hindu-Buddhist amity and co-existence in the form of Vajrayana Buddhism. The Palas initiated a policy of religious toleration. Their liberal patronage of Hindu gods and goddesses gave way to the origination of Vajrayana, the third vehicle of the Buddhism. This also resulted in narrowing the gaps between the two religions and one merging into the other gave rise to new forms and practices which culminated in the evolution of Tantric cults and practices among the Buddhists in Bengal. The socio-religious climate of the Pala period bred a spirit of toleration and mutual coexistence and this spirit had a far-reaching impact in the history of the land.

The Pala period is also significant for various achievements in the field of arts. The Buddhist Vihara architecture attained maturity in the Somapura Mahavihara at Paharpur and this form influenced the subsequent structures in Southeast Asian countries. The terracotta art of Bengal reached its high-water mark during this period. The Pala School of Sculptural Art came to be recognised as a distinct phase of Eastern Indian Art. The artistic genius of the Bengal sculptors which was initiated by the khargas found full expression in the Pala period. Though literary works of the period have not survived in large numbers, yet the Ramacharitam, the great poetical work of the North Bengali poet Sandhyakar Nandi is a testimony to the quality of composition in a rare poetry form, in

which each verse has two meanings. The anthologies of poetry compiled in the subsequent period contain many verses composed by poets of the 10th and 11th centuries AD. A few illustrated palm leaf manuscripts of Buddhist texts of the period evince the excellence of the art of painting. Considering all these achievements the Pala period can rightly be considered the most glorious period in the early history of Bengal.' It may be mentioned that the local and indigenous Bodo-Kiratas continued to maintain their faith on their own gods and goddesses even after they embraced the Buddhism during the Pala rule and the Brahminic Hinduism during the reign of the Senas. Hence, Bengal witnessed the origination of Vajrayana, the third vehicle of the Buddhism and the Shakti worship of the Hindus.

Dynasties of Southeastern Bengal

It is believed that in the 9th century AD, south eastern Bengal saw the emergence of the kingdom of Harikela, which may have covered the area from Chittagong to Comilla. The Chandras followed the Harikela rulers and from the beginning of the 10th century AD five generations of Chandra rulers (Trailokya Chandra, Srichandra, Kalyanachandra, Ladahachandra and Govinda Chandra) ruled for about 150 years (c 900-1050 AD). Historians believe that their empire covered a large area in Vanga and Samatata comprising the whole of southern and south eastern Bangladesh and extending as far north east as Sylhet area. Their capital was at Vikrampura in present-day Munshiganj district, south of Dhaka. The Chandras were quite powerful and could match the power of the contemporary Palas of northern and western Bengal. Srichandra was the greatest ruler of the dynasty and under his vigorous rule the Chandra Empire witnessed widespread expansion in the territories beyond the borders into Kamarupa (Assam). His encounters against Gauda, mentioned in his copper plates, may have been against the Kamboja rulers of the area and this may have indirectly helped the Palas to recapture power in their paternal kingdom (rajyam pitriyam) during the early years of Mahipala I.

In the last quarter of the eleventh century AD, the Varman Dynasty, taking advantage of the Kaivarta rebellion in the Pala Empire, established their independent rule in south eastern Bengal. Five generations of the Varmans (Jatavarman, Harivarman, Samalavarman and Bhojavarman) ruled for less than a century (c 1080- 1150 AD) before they were toppled by the Senas. The Varmans were Hindus in faith and their capital was also at Vikramapur.

The rulers of south eastern Bengal commanded the sea trade through the vast coastal area of the Chittagong - Comilla region and this is attested to by the find of a large number of silver coins in various places of their empire. The accounts of the Arab merchants and navigators, written between 9th and 11th century AD, contain evidence of flourishing sea trade in the coastal area of south eastern Bengal specially, through the port, which the Arabs called 'Samandar', identified with the area near present-day Chittagong port. The rulers of south eastern Bengal could earn the necessary bullion for the issue of silver coins. We also have evidence of boat building industries in the records of the period. The picture of a flourishing sea-trade emerges very clearly and the resultant economic affluence of the area is beyond any doubt.

“The part of Bengal which lay to the east of the Brahmaputra, from the eleventh century onward had Pattikera as its capital, the extensive ruins of which have been discovered on the Mainamati Hills in the Tippera District. --- According to Burmese chronicles, the kingdom of Burma, under Anaoratha (1044-1077), was bounded on the west by Pattikera. These Burmese sources narrate romantic stories which indicate that there was a close and intimate contact between the rulers of Pattikera and Burma in the eleventh and twelfth century. We learn from an inscrtiption discovered in Mainamati Hills, that a king known as Harikaladeva Ranavangkamalla ascended the throne of Pattikera in 1202-1203 AD and ruled there at least up to 1219 AD. Harikaladeva or his successor was overthrown by the Deva dynasty.” (Struggle for Empire, P.41 by R. C. Majumdar) It may be relevent to mention that the Burmese tongue is admittedly classified as the language of the Barik family of the Boros. Further the Burmese people are believed to have migrated to Burma, now Myanmar, from the Brahmaputra valley. The Brahmaputra valley extended upto its confluence with the Ganges. This valley was exclusively inhabitated by the people of the Bodo race from the prehistoric age till the British India. Therefore, undoubtedly the dynasty of Anaoratha who maintained close relations with the king of Pattikera was of the Boro people who are still found to have been living in those areas including Pattikera. Thus it could safely be stated that Harikaladeva was one of the Boro kings ruling over Pattikera including the present Tripura. The modern Cachar District of Assam was a part of the Tippera teritorry until it was gifted away to the kachari King on the occasion of his marriage with the princess of Tippera. The dynasty to which Harikaladeva belonged was the follower of the Buddhism and the dynasty is believed to have been destabilized by the Deva dynasty, another dynasty of the same group of people. On the basis, among others, as discussed, the Chandra rulers can be stated to owe their origin to the Bodo race.

It is further believed that south eastern Bengal emerged as a kingdom of considerable size and strength under the Deva Dynasty in the 8th century AD with their capital at Devaparvata (a city in the Mainamati-Lalmati area, the exact location of which is not yet settled). Four generations of rulers (Shantideva, Viradeva, Anandadeva and Bhavadeva) ruled Samatata and they were contemporaries of the early Pala kings, who held sway over northern and western Bengal and Bihar. The Devas were Buddhists and under their patronage, the Mainamati area rose into prominence as an important Buddhist cultural centre. The remains unearthed through archaeological excavations at Mainamati prove the existence of a few Buddhist Viharas (Buddhist religious and educational establishments) namely, Shalvan Vihara, Ananda Vihara and Bhoja Vihara built by the Deva rulers near their capital city of Devaparvata. The cruciform plan of the central shrine, which is seen in a matured form at Paharpur, seems to have originated in the Mainamati area, where we see their earlier and smaller manifestations. The Mainamati remains also contain terracotta plaques of high merit. The sculptural remains of Mainamati prove the development of this art in this region.

However, Dr. R. C. majumdar is of the view, “The earliest known member of the Deva family is Purushattoma, who was a headman of a village, possibly under the royal dynasty of Pattikera. His son Madhumathana is described as a king (Nripati) and seems to have founded the southern part of pattikera kingdom. His son and successor was Vasudeva who was succeeded by his son Damodara. Damodara claimed to be overlord of

all kings and issued inscriptions in 1234 AD and 1243 AD. He granted the village Mehera. King Danujamardhana was the son of Damodara who issued inscriptions from Vikrampura. He was known as Danuj Rai. In the latter part of the thirteenth century Pattikera fell into the hands of Muslims." (Struggle for Empire, P.42- by R. C. Majumdar) Danujmardhana has been identified by I. S. Chemjung as the Khas or Koch Bodo king in his book 'the History of Kirata People.' He also wrote that not only Danujmardhana got himself converted into the Hinduism but also took up the cause of spreading the Hinduism in his kingdom. However, his goal of converting each and every person of his kingdom into the Hinduism could not be accomplished as he and his dynasty was destabilized by the Muslims.

The Sena Dynasty

Towards the end of the 11th century AD, Vijayasena is believed to have founded the Sena Empire. His forefathers are surmised by the Bengali writers to have hailed from the Karnata country of the Deccan. However, there is not a single proof to establish the presumption and as such, in its efficacy, the Karnata origin of the Senas is liable to be rejected as a false theory. The theory is also unacceptable on grounds among others as follows. We can read that while attempting to reconstruct the history about the Senas of Bengal, "Some scholars have suggested that when Rajendra Chola's army invaded Bengal, the Senas accompanied them. It is possible that some Karnataka officials of the Palas established an independent principality in Radha." (Studies in ancient India – by Pravatangshu Maiti, P.578) One should bear in mind that the Karnataka Officials, if there were really any, ought to have to be Chalukyas, while Rajendra was a Chola king. The fact is that at that material time, Cholas and Chalukyas were drawing swords against each other. Hence Rajendra, the Chola king employing Chalukyas in his army is far fetched. Therefore, "Dr. R. C. majumdar has pointed out that it is most unlikely that Rajendra Chola would appoint Karnataka chiefs in his army and leave them in Bengal." (P.578 – Ibid) Further, "As the Bengal campaign of Rajendra is mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription, it is presumed that it took place between 1021 and 1025 AD. The avowed object of the expedition was to bring the holy water of the Ganges. But in fact it was nothing more than a gigantic raid without permanent result." (P.632 – Ibid) Then again, some scholars are of the view that some Senas of Karnataka accompanying the Chalukya king, Vikramaditya VI in his expedition of eastern India might have settled in Bengal who in later years, established the Sena dynasty of Bengal. To test the veracity of the theory one may go back to the reigning era of Vikramaditya VI. One would find, "Perhaps Kulottunga I (1070-1120), the Chola king led two invasions in Kalinga, the first one was launched in his 26th regnal year and the last one in his 42nd year. Perhaps Kalinga's attack on Vengi provoked Kulottunga to invade Kalinga. Southern portion of Kalinga was annexed to the kingdom of Vengi as a result of Kalinga campaign. The second Kalinga war took place in or about 1110 AD. --- In course of his long reign, he successfully resisted a number of invasions of his kingdom by Vikramaditya VI, the Western Chalukya king. The Chalukya records say that ultimately Vikramaditya VI defeated him and captured Vengi. However, Chalukya records in this case are less reliable." (P.635 – Ibid) Now, come back to the one who is stated to have founded the Sena dynasty of Bengal. We get to read, "The first member of the Sena family who

earned some distinction was Samanta Sena. He was probably a chief of the Radha region. Hemanta Sena, his son, started his career as a ruling chief of Radha in the last quarter of the eleventh century AD. --- Vijayasena succeeded his father Hemantasena in 1095." (Pp, 578, 579) If this statement is believed to be true, it would mean that the so called Sena Chief Samantasena would have to be there in Bengal in or around 1050 AD. It would also suggest that his ancestors would have to be in Bengal from much earlier period to emerge as the ruler of Radha in or around 1050 AD. The Chalukya king, Vikramaditya VI is stated to have ruled during the second half of the 11th century AD (1076 – 1126). Hence, it would be a blatant lie to say that some Senas accompanied Vikramaditya VI to settle in Bengal prior to 1050 AD. Thus the theory of Karnataka Sena origin of the Bengal Senas is nothing but a surmise and must be rejected as a false theory. On the other side, it is unequivocably clear that the so called Brahminic Aryan practices entered Bengal only during the Sena period. This has been supported by the statements appearing in "The Caste System of the Hindus" written by Sourindra Mohan Tagore which, in brief, run as follows:

"During the reign of Adisura, a Vaidya King of Bengal, the celebration of a Yajna (sacrifice) became necessary owing to a drought, but there having been at that time no Brahmana so learned as to perform it, Adisura requested Virsinha, the King of Kanya Kubjya (Conouj), to send him some Brahmanas versed in the Veda and competent to perform the intended Yajna. Five Brahmanas were accordingly sent and they were:-

1. Bhattanarayana [The Tagore family is stated to have sprung from Bhattanarayan] who was said to be of Sandilya Gotra, being descended from the sage Sandilya;

2. Sriharsha of Bharadwaja Gotra from the sage Bharadwaja;

3. Vedagarva of Sawarna Gotra from the sage Sawarna;

4. Chhandara of Vatsya Gotra from the sage Vatsya; and

5. Daksha of Kasyapa Gotra from the sage Kasypa.

These five Brahmanas brought five Kayastha servants with them, viz.:

1. Makaranda Ghosh;

2. Kali Dasa Mitra;

3. Dasaratha Guha;

4. Dasartha Basu and

5. Purushottama Datta.

These five Brahmanas as well as their servants the five Kayasthas were afterwards classified as the Kulinas of Bengal. Of these, those who lived in the Barendra land of North Bengal were called the Barendra Brahmanas and those who lived in West Bengal were called Rarhi Barhmanas. Those who are not Kulinas among the Rarhis are called Banysagas and among the Barendras are called Kafs. Although the Barendra and the Rarhis have sprung from the same origin, still owing to their living in different localities, they cannot socially mix with each other, e.g. marriage cannot take place between a Barendra and a Rarhi; a Rarhi does not take food cooked by a Barendra and so forth.

Shyamal Varma, a Kshatriya King also brought five Brahmanas from Konouj, viz:-

1. Sanaka;

2. Bhardwaja;

3. Savarna;

4. Sandilya;

5. Vasistha, many years after Adisura.

Five willages, namely,

1. Samahtasar in Furreedpur,

2. Navadwip in Nuddea,

3. Chandradwip in Backergunj,

4. Kotaliparah in Furreedpur and

5. Joyari in Rajshahi

were granted to the above-mentioned five Brahmanas respectively. The descendants of these Brahmanas are called the Vaidik Brahmanas of Bengal. They are divdided into two classes, viz,

1. Paschtya, i.e. those who lived in West Bengal and

2. Dakshinatya, i.e. those who lived in South Bengal.

Those two classes of the Vaidiks cannot socially mix with each other. There is no system of Kulinism among the Vaidiks.

The above mentioned Kulin families lived in 56 different villages. They were therefore called Chhappanna Grami (i.e. of 56 villages). The word Grami has been corrupted into Gai." (P.18)

The meaning and the purports of the story told by Sourindra Mohan Tagore may now be gone into. The story tells us that there was no Brahmin in Bengal who was conversant with the process of performing Yajnahuti till up to the period of Adisur, the Vaidya king. Ballal Sen of the Sena dynasty is believed to have introduced the Vedic Hinduism in Bengal. Therefore, though there is no historical figure as Adisur of Bengal, it could be assumed, not admitted that Adisura belonged to the Sena dynasty. In other words, till the time of Adisura, i. e, the rule of Sena dynasty, Vaidic Hinduism was absent in Bengal. This would undoubtedly tell us that Adisura himself was not aryanized by that time and so was the position of Ballal Sen. This might have been the position as regards the status of all the people of Bengal. If this was not the position, then where was the need to import personalities conversant with Vaidic rites from Kanauj to Bengal? This would undoubtedly prove that the Senas were non-Aryan Bengalis and as evidenced by the 'Yama Samhita', they were later identified as the Kayasthas of Gauda-Bengal maintaining a genealogy from the Kamarupa Kirata king Bhagadutta. The theory that five Kulin Brahmanas and five Kulin Kayasthas procreated in swarms to form majority over the indigenous people who were already living in Bengal in crores, does not appear to be in terms with the science of Biology. It would be equally unacceptable that the indigenous people stopped genering their offsprings to allow the Kayasthas and the Brahmanas from Kanauj to form the majority in the country.

A. M. Chaudhury writes, "The Senas held sway over Bengal for more than a century (1097-1223 AD) in which five generations of kings (Vijayasena, Vallalasena, Laksmanasena, Vishvarupasena and Keshavasena) ruled. But it must be noted that the invasion of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji put an end to Sena rule in parts of western and northern Bengal in 1204 AD and Laksmanasena had to fall back on his possessions in south eastern Bengal where, after him, his two sons ruled for some time. It should also be noted that Vijayasena, after having ousted the Varmans and the Palas, succeeded in bringing the whole of Bengal under one unified rule which continued up to 1204 AD.

The Sena rulers were Hindus and they are considered to have introduced the Vaidic Hinduism in Bengal. Vallalasena is stated to have attempted to establish an orthodox Hindu social order with caste rigidity known as Kulinism. The decline of Buddhism in Bengal may be ascribed to this change in social order. It is not unlikely that Buddhism received a rude shock from the introduction of Kulinism by the Senas. The Hindu-Buddhist enmity in Bengal and the attempt at establishing the kulinism in the Sena period may be said to have had a far-reaching impact in the history of Bengal. The scenario may have indirectly helped the cause of Islam in Bengal.

The Sena period is significant from another point of view. The period saw the development of Sanskrit literature in Bengal. It was partly under the direct patronage of the Sena kings and partly due to the environment created by them that literary activities in Sanskrit are distinctly visible in this period. By far the most important contribution of

Bengal to the poetic literature in Sanskrit is the Gitagovinda of Jaydeva who was one of the ornaments of the court of Laksmanasena. Other luminaries of his court were poets Dhoyi (author of Pavanaduta), Umapatidhara, Govardhana (author of Arya-Sapta-Shati) and Sharana, and these five may be regarded as the five ratnas (jewels) of the court of Laksmanasena.

One anthology Saduktakarnaarta compiled by Sridharadasa during this period stands out as a treasure house of poetical works of the period as also of earlier periods. It contains 2370 poems composed by 485 poets whose dates range from the 10th to 12th century AD. Bhavadeva Bhatta and Jimutavahana two great writers of Dharmashastra, belong to this period. Vallalasena and Laksmanasena were royal authors of no mean merit. Halayudha's Brahmana-sarvasva was also written in this period. There were other works too. It is really noteworthy that 12th century Bengal under the Senas witnessed unprecedented flourish in literary activities in Sanskrit.

Another arena of artistic achievements in the period was in the field of sculptural art. The Bengal school of sculptural art reached its high-water mark in the Sena period and in this phase its regional character marked by individualistic traits became manifest."

"The Senas of Bengal in the present day are Vaidyas, i. e, they belong to the medical caste; and they assume therefore that the early Sena kings of Bengal also belonged to the same caste. – Vaidya as a separate caste does not exist to this day in any province outside Bengal." (A History of Civilization in Ancient India – Vol.2, P171 – by Romesh Chandra Dutta) Generally, the profession of a Vaidya which is a 'Kabiraji' is common to every group of people irrespective of their racial origin. The Bodos do have Vaidyas of their own. It may be mentioned here that the medicinal herbs used by the Meche-Vaidyas of. Nepal, have recently been listed by the Government of Nepal and are patented as the Meche herbal medicines. Then again, "Vaidyas were originally Kayasthas who took to the profession of medicine and thus formed a separate community. – They claim Raja Ballal Sen of Bengal to be a Vaidya." (Village Life in Bengal: Hindu Customs in Bengal, P. 205 – by Richard Stevenson) Thus it is evident that the term 'Vaidya' does not signify any race. Every community and/or group of people including the most primitive aborigins may have Vaidyas for the treatment of their ailing members. Hence from the mere identification of the people as the Vaidyas, the origin of the Senas cannot be ascertained therefrom. Then again, the Senas are stated to be Brahmin-Kshatriya Kayasthas. But no basis is put forward to substantiate the claim. As mentioned earlier, some writers tend to suggest that since the Senas are grouped along with the twelve clans assumed to have originated from the mythical figure Chitragupta, they are called as the Brahmana-Kshatriyas. It may be clarified that Kayasthas were the people forming the groups of court clerks and/or accountants and they emerged as a class in medieval India. As such, the term Kayastha is also incapable of identifying the racial origin of a person. If the Senas are awarded the status of the Brahmins simply because they were physicians or they are called as the Brahman-Kshatriyas because they are grouped along with other Kayastha clans, Vaidyas/clerks of other communities including those of the Kirata and Muslim Vaidyas/clerks would have to be given the status of Brahmins and/or Brahman-Kshatriyas which would fail the test of a logical scrutiny. It may be interesting to mention

here that the British High Court of Patna had an occasion to adjudicate whether the Kayasthas are the Brahmanas and/or Kshatriyas. The Court ruled that the Kayasthas are the Shudras not the Brahmins and/or Kshatriyas as claimed. The judgment is never reversed and therefore, it is still in force. In other words, the Kayasthas are the people originated from the pre-Aryan indigenous people of India. On this ground also, we can safely say that the Kayasthas of Bengal are of the Bodo Tibeto-Burman origin.

Pravatangsu Maiti has pointed out; "The contemporary literature (of the Sena period) treats pornography as a high literary creation. Govardhan was a master in the art of amorous verses. He explained carnal desire in minute details. The Arya Saptashati of Govardhana bears testimony to that Jay Deva inspite of his spiritualism and great literary style could not neglect the cravings of flesh in some of his great verses. Even religious functions could not escape the evil impact of sensualism. The holi festival, the vasanta or spring festivals were marked by immoral rites. The Kala-viveka recommends such rite." (Studies in Ancient India, P.588) This would irresistibly suggest that inspite of the Senas' claim that they were ardent followers of the Brahminic Hinduism they failed to give up the practices of the Vajrayana as they got deeply rooted in their mind thereby revealing their true origin of the indigenous people of Bengal with the Vajrayana faith.

Then again, on going through the history of the adjoining kingdoms of the post Gupta period, we are in a position to read that Mawrong the vassal of Songt-Sen Gampo had occupied North India upto Mithila including the whole region of Bengal and western part of Kamarupa. As mentioned earlier, Mawrong then divided his country into four major provinces, namely, Khambuwan, Limbuwan, Lepchan and Morong. Mawrong Hang is believed to have been succeeded by Uba Hang. Thereafter, Mabo Hang (865 – 880) and Srijung Hang (880 – 915) ruled under the dynasty established by Mawrong. Their rule was destabilized by other group of Kiratas particularly by the Bodo-Rais. The dynasty established by Changla Ing whose ancestors hailed from Kamarupa, is known as the Rai dynasty of Morong (Nepal) with their capital at Bijaypur. Pungla, the son of Changla got converted into the Hinduism and changed his name to 'Amar Rai'. He was succeeded by (i) Kirti Narayan Rai, (ii) Apa Narayan Rai, (iii) Jarai Narayan Rai, (iv) Ing Din Narayan Rai, (v) Bijay Narayan Rai and seven generations thereafter. In or about 1609 AD, Bodo-Rais were destabilized by Lo Hang Sen of another Kirata family.

"Lo Hang Sen was the youngest son of Kirata king Mukunda Sen of western Nepal whose capital town was Palpa. He was a Hinduised king. He had four sons called Manik Sen, Arjun Sen, Bi Hang Sen and Lo Hang Sen. Lo Hang Sen was ordained king on the Bijapur throne by a Sanyasi in 1609 AD. He built temple in the name of Baraha or wild boar which they believed to be the symbol of God Vishnu, in Chatara on the eastern bank of the Kosi River and placed the Sanyasi saint to manage it. He became Maharajadhiraj of all the Kirata land." (The History of Kirata People, P.157 – by I. S. Chemjung) The fact that Lo Hang Sen built a Baraha temple would undoubtedly show us that Lo Hang Sen maintained a lineage from Bhagadatta of Kamarupa who is stated in the Vishnu Purana as the son of Baraha, the Vishnu. Harihar Sen, the grand son of Lo Hang Sen ascended the throne in 1661 AD and extended his kingdom up to Gondowana of North Bihar and decorated himself with the title of 'Hindupati'. (Ibid – P.159) Harihar Sen had

four sons, namely, Subha Sen from the youngest queen Maheswari; Chatrapati, Padma and Pratap from the first queen Mahisi. Chatrapati's son was Bidhata Indra Sen who succeeded the throne of Morong. (Ibid-P.158) Subha Sen ruled Morong for 22 years from 1684 till 1706. Mahipati or Mandhata Sen, the eldest son of King Subha Sen was elected as the king of Morong by the Chiefs of Morong in 1725 AD to rule till 1750 AD. On the death of Mahipati, Jagat Sen was made king of Morong. Kama Datta a son of king Mahipati's concubine became the king of half of Morong in 1750 AD. He changed his name to Biswambhar Sen and ruled the State west of the Kosi River for 11 years till 1761 AD. Mahipati appointed one Bichitra Chandra Rai of the Bodo-Rai family as the Prime Minister of Bijapur. He opposed Kama Datta Sen becoming the king of Bijapur and in 1769 AD, Dewan Budhi Karma Rai, the Chief Minister of Bijapur succeeded king Kama Datta Sen and ruled Morong from 1769 to 1773 AD. Then Morong fell into the hand of Gorkha king Prithvi Narayan Singh. These facts would be required to be read along with the history of India particularly the history pertaining to the Senas of Bengal. These readings would show in totality that the Senas of Bengal might have linked to Mawrong the vassal of Songt-tsen Gampo, the Lichchavi Kirata king. Admittedly, the dynasties of the Khargas and the Palas are of the group of people belonging to the Kirata Lichchavis who got identified with different nomenclatures at different times. Both the Khargas and the Palas are linked to Songt-tsen Gampo and Mawrong. The name of the Lichchavi king 'Songt-tsen' would thus emerge as the source of appellation of honor for these kings to introduce them as 'tsen' which was in course of time softened as 'Sen' or 'Sena' ny the Hindu writers. Should the genealogy of the Senas be traced from Mawrong, it would be quite logical to say that the Senas also do belong to the Kirata-Lichchavis of Mongoloid stem who methamorphosed as the Hindus during the reign of Ballal Sena. Then again, no historian has ever suggested that there had been migration of people into the then Bengal from other kingdoms to destabilize the people of Bodo lineage. The theory of Karnata origin of the Senas has already failed. Further there is no evidence to show that Senas from Karnata or elsewhere had ever migrated in large numbers to Bengal to build a Vaidya community in Bengal. Therefore, Mr. Sourindra Mohan Tagore is correct when he declares that the people representing only fifteen percent of the whole of the present Bengalis belong to non-indigenous people of Bengal. The Chinese traveler Hiuen-Tsang has also stated in his accounts on Kamarupa, Samatata and Paundra that the people living in these regions were dark yellow in colour and they spoke a language which was different to that of mid-India. This has been corroborated by the recitals of Minhaj appearing in the Taba-Qat-I-Nasiri that the Turks when marched towards North Bengal and some parts of East Bengal could see only the people called as the Meches, the Tharus and the Koches who were look alike the invading Turks.

In a nutshell, it is unequivocally clear and certain that as in the case of Pragjyotishpura and/or Kamarupa, from the prehistoric era till the era of the British India, Bengal was predominantly inhabited by the people belonging to the great Bodo nationality who were at times, called and identified with different names and nomenclatures. The history of Bengal should stand corrected to the effect as deliberated and brought out in this discussion.

Suggested readings:

1. Studies in Ancient India - by Pravatangsu Maiti,
2. Bodo Civilization in India – by Bakul Chandra basumatary,
3. Tribal Culture, Faith, History and Literature - by Narayan Singh Rao,
4. North-East India – by Joe Bindloss,
5. Ancient India – by V. D. Mahajan,
6. Ancient India History and Civilization – by Sailendra Nath Sen,
7. Social History of Kamarupa, Chapter I – the Bhauma dynasty in Eastern India - by Nagendra Nath Basu,
8. Bangalir Itihas - by Dr. N. R. Roy,
9. Struggle for Empire - by R. C. Majumdar,
10. A History of Civilization in Ancient India – Vol.2 – by Romesh Chandra Dutta,
11. The Caste System of the Hindus - by Sourindra Mohan Tagore,
12. The History of Kirata People – by I. S. Chemjung,
13. Village Life in Bengal: Hindu Customs in Bengal – by Richard Stevenson,
14. History of Bengal, vol-1, Dhaka, 1948-by RC Majumdar (ed),
15. A History of Ancient India - by Arun Bhattacharjee and
16. Dynastic History of Bengal, Dhaka, 1968-by- Abdul Momin Chowdhury.